National Library of Canada
Canadian Theses Service
Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Services des thèses canadiennes

CANADIAN THESES

THÈSES CANADIENNES

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

THIS DISSERTATION HAS BEEN MICROFILMED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

NL 339 (r. 86/01)

Canada

National Library of Canada
Canadian Theses Division
Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Division des thèses canadiennes

0-315-24898-X

PERMISSION TO MICROFILM — AUTORISATION DE MICROFILMER

• Please print or type — Écrire en lettres moulées ou dactylographier

Full Name of Author — Nom complet de l'auteur

ANTHONY PATRICK SIMULIK

Date of Birth — Date de naissance

11/02/58

Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance

CANADA

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe

7808-145 AVENUE, EDMONTON, T5C 2S7

Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse

"LANGUAGE USAGE AMONGST SELECTED GROUPS OF SLAVIC-SPEAKING IMMIGRANTS IN EDMONTON"

University — Université

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée

M.A.

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade

1984

Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse

DR. T.M. PRIESTLY

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

Date

AUG. 20/1984

Signature

Anthony P. Simulik

NL-91 (4/77)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

LANGUAGE USAGE AMONGST SELECTED GROUPS OF SLAVIC-SPEAKING IMMIGRANTS IN EDMONTON

by

ANTHONY P. SIMULIK

(C)

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

IN

SLAVIC LINGUISTICS

WITH NOTATION IN SLAVIC AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

THE DEPARTMENT OF SLAVIC AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1984

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR ANTHONY P. SIMULIK

TITLE OF THESIS LANGUAGE USAGE AMONGST SELECTED GROUPS OF SLAVIC-SPEAKING IMMIGRANTS IN EDMONTON

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED MASTER OF ARTS

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED FALL 1984

Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

(SIGNED) Anthony Simulik

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

7808 - 145 Avenue

EDMONTON, Alberta

T5C 2S7

DATED September 28 19 84

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled LANGUAGE USAGE AMONGST SELECTED GROUPS OF SLAVIC-SPEAKING IMMIGRANTS IN EDMONTON submitted by ANTHONY P. SIMULIK in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the dgree of MASTER OF ARTS IN SLAVIC LINGUISTICS WITH NOTATION IN SLAVIC AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES.

T. M. Shevelov

Supervisor

V. V. Morgoch

G. Yeo

A. Hornjatkevyč

Date September 28, 1984

To my parents, for the years of encouragement.

Abstract

Language usage between speakers of different linguistic groups is of considerable interest to linguists, sociologists, and anthropologists. Indeed, many facets of sociolinguistic research are subsumed under the heading of "language usage". These include studies on language maintenance and language shift, bilingualism, language-contact, and language attitudes.

The writer chose to discuss language usage as it pertains to a specific type of bilingual - the immigrant. Like other bilinguals, the immigrant decides to use one of the languages known to him depending on the *domain* (i.e., sphere of linguistic activity) he finds himself in. Unlike other bilinguals however, the immigrant is undergoing the process of *assimilation* in adapting to life in the host country. The immigrant is therefore subject to various ongoing psychological, social, and cultural processes affecting language maintenance and shift.

Of interest to the writer is the degree of language maintenance amongst Slavic immigrants in Canada. Studies pertaining to the linguistic status of Slavs in Canada rely on two sources of data: 1) survey data (that data which is collected by individual researchers), and 2) Canadian census data. The latter provide a general overview of the linguistic status of various ethno-linguistic groups, but is fraught with several weaknesses. Amongst these is a "generational undersampling", as there is no distinction

made between different generations within an ethnic group in census questionnaires.

Utilizing census data, the writer examined the linguistic status of Slavs in Canada, Alberta, and Edmonton over a 30-year period (1941 - 1971). The writer carried out a study examining language usage between selected groups of Slavic-speaking immigrants in Edmonton. The groups selected for the study were Czechs, Slovaks, and Russians, as the writer was familiar with the languages of all three groups. 30 members from each group were administered questionnaires in their native tongues, and an interview was conducted following the completion of each questionnaire. Only those immigrants who arrived in Canada following World War II and were at least 16 years of age upon arrival were included in the study. Language usage was to be examined in six domains: the family, place of work, social gatherings, religious services, ethnic community events, and "the street".

Various problems arose in the analysis of the questionnaire data, owing to the small size of the populations studied and the high number of possible responses to some questionnaire items. This led to rather low absolute values when different variables were cross-tabulated. In addition, language usage in some domains was not analyzed for various reasons.

The variable which had the greatest effect in determining language usage in the different domains was "ethnic origin". "Level of education" and "length of

residence in Canada" determined language usage to some - albeit not a very great - degree. Much to the writer's surprise, sex was found to play no role in determining language usage amongst the three groups.

The topics discussed during the course of the interviews were 1) maintenance of the ethnic tongue amongst the immigrants' children, 2) the attitude of other Canadians towards the immigrants, 3) the degree of homesickness experienced by the immigrants, and 4) the manner in which the immigrants learned - or were in the process of learning - English. The results of the interviews are anecdotal, and in many cases common tendencies are observed in the immigrants' remarks.

Table of Contents

Chapter — Page

I. Problematics of Language Usage 1

II. Language Usage Amongst Slavic Immigrants in Canada 24

Canadian Census Data and Language 24

The Linguistic Status of Slavs in Canada 27

Ethnicity and Language Usage 42

Problematics of Language Usage Between Slavic Groups 47

Summary 55

III. The Study 57

Purpose and Design of the Study 57

Limits of the Study 64

Variables in the Study 66

The Design of the Questionnaire 77

The Interviews 79

IV. Results of the Study 80

Statistical Problems With the Study 80

Unexpected Problems With the Questionnaire ..83

Results of the Questionnaire 85

Other Variables in the Study 128

Results of the Interviews 135

V. Conclusion 149

Suggestions for Analyzing Domains 149

Topics for Further Study 153

Final Conclusion 163

Bibliography 165

Appendix 170

I. Problematics of Language Usage

The topic of language usage encompasses a broad field of sociolinguistic research, including studies on language maintenance and language shift, bilingualism, language-contact, and language attitudes. Indeed, language usage cannot be discussed without reference to these topics.

It is important to emphasize that when language usage is discussed in this work, we are dealing with languages used between linguistically different populations, and not within a linguistically homogenous population. That is, we are not comparing the usage of a dialect of language A with the usage of language A's standardized version, or differences in usage at various stylistic levels - such as between street slang and educated speech. Although language A can be analyzed in terms of the usage of its variants A1, A2, and A3, the discussion and analysis the present writer wishes to undertake would compare the usage of language A with that of language B, language B with that of language C, and so on.

To be more specific, the writer in the present work wishes to examine language usage when there is *contact* between at least two linguistically different populations. Should such contact exist, one may then ask questions about the language or languages used in the contact situation: Just what language(s) is/are used between speakers of language A and language B? Is one of the two groups of speakers *bilingual*, and as result uses the other group's

language? Or, are both groups bilingual, and does each group use a second language as a "lingua franca" in order to communicate? What does determining language usage tell us about *language maintenance and language shift* within a linguistic population? What is the *attitude* of speakers of language A and of language B towards their own and other languages? Are there any influences on language usage originating outside the immediate language-contact situation? These questions will be discussed in this chapter.

In the strictest sense, an analysis of language usage in a given setting may be seen as both a qualitative and quantitative description of the language or languages used in that setting. However, an analysis of language usage should be more than simply a list of the various languages used along with the statistical frequency of their usage. Rather, one should try to determine *who* speaks *what* language with *whom*, *why* he speaks that language, *when* he speaks it, and *where* he speaks it. This is where the aforementioned area-related topics come into play.

Fishman (1964b:33) states that when two linguistically different populations are in contact with one another, the consequences of this contact are demonstrable. He proposes that these consequences need not necessarily be *interference phenomena* per se, but can be seen in various degrees of *language displacement* and *maintenance*. *Language displacement*, or as it is more often called, *language shift*,

is defined by Fishman as a change in habitual language use, and *language maintenance* as stability in habitual language use.

In other words, when two linguistically different populations come into contact, one of them may either undergo changes in order to accomodate the second (language shift), while the second may not undergo changes owing to the influence of the first (language maintenance). As we are concerned with language usage and not interference phenomena, language shift can be seen as a decrease in the frequency of using one's native language, along with a corresponding increase in frequency of using the language of the population with which one is now in contact.

Note that here we are not speaking of "languages in contact", but rather of "languages of populations in contact". If then, one of the two populations makes concessions in language usage to the other, the result is the development of bilingualism. The now bilingual population has undergone a shift in language use, while the other population, maintaining the usage of its language, remains unilingual. *Language shift for a given population always implies some degree of bilingualism.*

Bilingual populations which have undergone language shift are of interest to the writer, and one such group - immigrants - will be dealt with in the present work.

Weinreich (1953:1) describes bilingualism in the following manner:

> ... two or more languages will be said to be *in contact* if they are used alternately by the same persons. The language-using individuals are thus the locus of contact....
> ... The practice of alternately using two languages will be called *bilingualism*, and the persons involved *bilingual*.

It must be emphasized that the present work does not concern itself with "language-contact", which is a more general concept than bilingualism and deals with the effect of one language on another language in a contact situation. As Moravec (1960:162) has pointed out, language-contact studies tend to examine structural changes within the languages involved, rather than what is taking place at the socio-cultural level. Mackey (1962:51) also makes the distinction between bilingualism and language-contact quite clear, and like Weinreich - but unlike Moravec - stresses the importance of the individual in bilingualism:

> Bilingualism is not a phenomenon of language; it is a characteristic of its use.... It does not belong to the domain of "langue" but of "parole". If language is the property of the group, bilingualism is the property of the individual. An individual's use of two languages supposes the existence of two different language communties; it does not suppose the existence of a bilingual community.

The problem of language usage between bilingual speakers has always been of interest to linguists. Herman (1961:149) asks why a bilingual speaker will use one language rather than the other in situations where either language could serve as a medium of conversation. Similarily, Fishman (1964b:32) observes that languages *sometimes* replace each other, among *some* speakers,

particularly in *certain* types or domains of language behaviour, under *some* conditions of contact.

Of great importance to Fishman's breakdown of the problem, and indeed for any scholar studying the problem, is the concept of "domain". Perhaps an example would help to illustrate why this is so.

It may be known, for instance, that individuals A and B, who are both bilingual and know the same two languages, sometimes use language X and sometimes language Y between themselves. Why should this be? This question can be answered quite easily when one examines the factors which seem to play some role in determining language usage. In any speech act between bilinguals A and B, the constants are 1) the individuals themselves, and 2) the languages known by them. What is not constant however is the "setting" or the "location" in which the speech act takes place. Therefore, one can conclude that it is the "speech setting", or, in Fishman's words, the "domain" which determines which language is to be used.[1]

The concept of "domain" is crucial to measuring variance in language behaviour. Fishman distinguishes between two types of such measurement; a) quantitative - which is closely related to the problem of determining the "degree of bilingualism" (and not of interest in the present work), and b) qualitative - which is a measurement of

---

[1] Other intangibles, of course, may be included in the "setting". These will be discussed in greater detail shortly.

variance in habitual language use. According to Fishman, the qualitative aspects of bilingualism can best be illustrated in the domains of language behaviour, which are the locations of language maintenance and language shift.

A comment should be made on the disagreements between scholars surrounding the "domain" concept. The first source of disagreement is one of taxonomy, for what is described by Fishman as a "domain" is a "function" in studies by Mackey, Weinreich, and Haugen. Fishman (1964:37) argues that it is better to use the term "domain", as "function" in recent years had been given quite a different meaning by various linguists and anthropologists.

The second source of disagreement consists in the fact that there is little consensus on what can be classified as a domain of language behaviour in bilingual communities. To cite some examples, Mackey makes use of five domains (the home, community, school, mass media, and correspondence); Carroll Barber (1952), in her study of language usage amongst Yaqui Indians in Arizona, utilized four (familial or intimate, informal, formal, and intergroup); and the present writer, in the research project to be described later, used six (the family, place of work, social gatherings, religious services, ethnic community events, and "the street").

The variation in both the number and types of domains proposed may be accounted for by saying, as Fishman does, that in order to obtain an accurate picture of language maintenance and language shift in a bilingual population, we

must collect highly complex data, which is based on a highly complex model of language use. It is the absence of a generally accepted model of language usage which leads to discrepancies. That such a model would indeed be very complex can be seen in the work done by Milroy (1980) on language networks.

Up to this point in the discussion of bilingualism and language maintenance and language shift, considerable emphasis has been placed on the fact that a domain determines language usage between bilingual speakers. However, it would be overstating the role of domains to say that in *all* instances of speech acts involving bilinguals only domains played the decisive role in determining which language is to be used. This can be understood when one takes into account the distinction between types of bilingualism made by Fishman (1964b:40) who writes that bilinguals "vary with respect to the number and overlap of domains in which they habitually employ each of their languages".

Fishman proposes that there are two kinds of bilingualism; "coordinate" and "compound". "Coordinate bilingualism" involves the *non-interchangeable* usage of two languages, i.e., an individual's choice of language is solely dependent upon *different* people in *different* situations. For example, person A may be bilingual in languages X and Y, but as person B knows only language X, A will use only X in conversation with B.

Another example of coordinate bilingualism would be the case of a child who speaks language X at home with his or her immigrant parents, but language Y - the language of the host country - at school.

Unlike coordinate bilingualism, "compound bilingualism" has no "setting" or "people" determinants. Compound bilingualism involves the usage of two languages *interchangeably* by the *same* people in the *same* situations. An example is that of a child growing up in Quebec, whose parents are French-English bilinguals and use French and English interchangeably at home.

Both of these forms of bilingualism are not necessarily mutually exclusive, for there may be a change in the bilingual status of a bilingual. An initially coordinate bilingual may come to use both languages rather freely over a large set of interlapping domains (unlike the initial stages of coordinate bilingualism, where there is very little overlap). Meanwhile, an initially compound bilingual may become more like a coordinate bilingual, if the linguistic environment becomes more restrictive in allowing him to speak whatever language he wishes.

It has been mentioned earlier that the writer wishes to examine the problem of language usage - with special reference to language maintenance and language shift - as it pertains to immigrants. A very general schematic of language usage amongst immigrants is obtained when Fishman (1964b:42) applies his two bilingual categories to the immigrant

linguistic acculturation process. The schematic consists of four stages as follows:[2]

1. *Initial Stage* - An immigrant arriving in Canada (specifically English-speaking Canada) will probably know very little English, if any at all. Thus, he has to learn English via his mother tongue. With time his English improves, but as his knowledge of English is still weak, he will only use English when required to do so in certain domains (such as at work).

While an immigrant undergoes language shift the very moment he arrives in Canada and starts trying to learn English, the degree of shift at this stage is still minor.

It is worth noting that there is minimal interference by the native tongue here. Needless to say, interference by the native tongue on the immigrant's English will be considerable. (*Compound Bilingualism: Non-Overlapping Domains*)

2. *Second Stage* - The immigrant has spent more time in Canada, and his knowledge of English is increasing along with his increased usage of English. He can speak to other immigrants of his ethnolinguistic group in either the native tongue or English (which is mediated by the native tongue) in more domains. Interference on the part of English is increasing. (*Compound bilingualism: Overlapping Domains*)

---

[2]The writer has changed the description of each domain somewhat, so as to allow the schematic to relate more to the present work. Of course, the structure proposed by Fishman for each domain remains the same.

3. *Third Stage* - In terms of language maintenance and language shift, both the native tongue and English are now on "equal footing" for the immigrant, as they function independently and interference is stabilized. Domain overlap, which was non-existent at the first stage but increased in the second, is now at its maximum level. *(Coordinate Bilingualism: Overlapping Domains)*

4. *Fourth Stage* - Upon reaching this stage, the immigrant has undergone complete language shift. The immigrant can now say, for the first time in his life, that English is his "dominant" language. Interference declines, and both languages may function independently. In those instances where they don't function independently, English is the mediating tongue. *(Coordinate Bilingualism: Non-Overlapping Domains)*

Fishman's schematic can be seen as a general overview of language acculturation for a "typical" immigrant. However, is every immigrant so typical? What of the immigrant who does not fit the pattern? The schematic does not take into account the fact that the time period in which all four stages occur differs from immigrant to immigrant, and further, it may well be that some immigrants do not reach the fourth stage (or perhaps even the second or third stages). What factors, then, affect the pace at which an immigrant goes through all four stages? What would cause an immigrant to remain at an earlier stage? A related question to be asked concerns the compound bilingual - who may or may

not be an immigrant - as to why he alternates languages when he speaks with the same people in the same domains.

The answer to these questions is to be found in the various psychological, social, and cultural processes which affect language maintenance and language shift. As Fishman (1964b:49) notes of these processes: "Their major common characteristic is that they are primarily *outside* of language per se".

These processes can include the individual immigrant's linguistic aptitude, his desire to adapt to life in the new country, his attitude towards the native members of the host country, their attitudes towards him, and so on. It should be remembered at this point that an immigrant is under pressure in the host country to conform in more than just terms of language; the dress, food, social mores and lifestyles of the host country may be quite new to him. Even though all of these are non-linguistic in nature, rejection of all or even some of them could result in an immigrant moving from stage 1 to stage 4 very slowly, if he even reaches the fourth stage at all.[3] It would seem then, that there is a link between language maintenance and language shift and identification with the cultural "value clusters" of the host country. This relationship is evident in domains, because a domain "represents an attempt to specify the most common institutional arenas in which cultural

---

[3] In fact, as Johnston (1965) and Herman (1961) have pointed out, an immigrant may even regress in the assimilation process.

identifications are enacted" (Fishman 1968:38). Fishman suggests that if there is stable maintenance of two separate languages, which in turn are maintained by two separate value systems, then the value systems must be expressed or enacted in two complementary sets of domains, in each of which one language is clearly used more often than the other. Fishman concludes:

> Those who identify with or accept the complementary cultural value clusters will utilize the culturally approved speech variety in their domain-appropriate behaviour. Those who do not accept these separate clusters will exercise pressure on behalf of domain overlap leading to language shift.

Thus, we can understand why a certain immigrant may be very slow in learning English or perhaps may never really learn it properly. The inability of an immigrant to identify with cultural value clusters in certain domains (domains in which the accepted language is English) would prompt him to use - if possible - his native tongue, or, as little English as possible.

Of course, there are other variables which can affect the language usage of any bilingual or bilingual immigrant. Mackey (1962:61-63), for one, suggests that bilingual contacts vary in duration, frequency, and pressure, all of which can affect language usage.

Duration of contact can greatly increase usage of, and proficiency in, a certain language. For example, individual A is fluent in his native language X and has lived for ten years in a neighbourhood where only language Y is used. He should know language Y better then another native speaker of

X, who has been in the Y-speaking neighbourhood for only two years.

This applies to immigrants in host countries as well. An immigrant who has been in Canada a longer period of time should - although such is not always the case - know English better than a much more recent arrival.

According to Mackey, duration of contact has little meaning unless we are aware of its frequency. So, it may be said of bilingual C who uses language Y every day that he also uses language X and has used language X for twenty years. However, he uses language X only four or five times a year. Bilingual D meanwhile, will use X and Y daily. Although C and D are both bilinguals in languages X and Y, there is a vast difference between them in terms of language usage, and perhaps even proficiency.

To use an example of an immigrant in Canada, it can be said that the duration of an immigrant's contact with English is constant, while the frequency of this contact may vary. An immigrant - who is at the border of Fishman's stages 1 and 2 - may live in a city such as Calgary which is English-speaking, and yet work with other immigrants of the same ethnolinguistic background, meet with them socially, and not use English at home. While the duration of contact with English is constant ("always"), the lack in frequency of contact with English speakers will result in the language shift process taking somewhat longer for this immigrant.

A more detailed treatment of variables affecting language usage amongst immigrants can be seen in Chapter II, section C.

The final variable proposed by Mackey is that of "pressure". This variable will receive special treatment here as it shows more clearly than the other two variables how non-linguistic factors, even those removed from the immediate contact situation, can play an extremely important role in determining which language is to be used by a bilingual in a given domain.

Mackey believes that there are a number of pressures which influence bilinguals in using one language over another. He suggests that these pressures may be economic, administrative, cultural, political, military, historical, religious, or demographic in nature. While Mackey does show how all of these pressures can determine language usage, he does not show how they affect the type of bilingual in which the present writer is interested, that is, the immigrant. A study more relevant to the subject matter of the present work is that of Simon Herman's (1961).

Herman proceeds from the premise that in any multilingual society choice of language by a bilingual is at times determined by considerations other than the requirements of the particular conversation. Any bilingual, Herman notes, finds himself in an "overlapping" situation, that is, he is in the common part of two psychological situations that exist simultaneously for him. The two

situations correspond to 1) "personal needs" (the desire or need of a bilingual to speak a certain language, perhaps the one in which he is more proficient), and 2) "group demands" (the norms of a bilingual's group which may demand of him that he speak a certain language, not necessarily the same language of his personal needs).

Making use of evidence from other sociological studies, which states that a situation's background influences behaviour in the immediate situation, Herman concludes that in any given language-contact situation, the language a bilingual uses will be dependent not only upon the demands of the immediate face-to-face situation, but also on the demands of the situation at large. Thus, in any given speech act by bilingual A where either language X or Y can be used, his choice of using X over Y will depend on the interaction between personal needs, the immediate situation, and the background situation. No conflict arises if all of these situations demand that language X be used, but conflict definitely occurs if the overlapping situations demand different languages. For example, personal needs may demand the usage of language X, while the immediate and background situations demand the usage of language Y. The problem in such a case then, is which situation will determine language behaviour.

How does a bilingual speaker resolve situational conflict in a contact setting? Herman writes that the selection of one language over another is dependent upon the

relative potency of a situation, which in turn depends upon both its relative "valence" (attractiveness or repulsiveness) and its relative "salience" (prominence in the perceptual field).

By its very nature, the immediate situation is more prominent in the perceptual field than the background situation. In order for the background situation to gain in salience, Herman hypothesizes that the following conditions must exist: 1) the speech act must take place in a public, not a private, setting; 2) the behaviour in the situation must provide cues to group indentifications or conformity to group norms; and 3) the bilingual involved wishes to identify himself with, or disassociate himself from, a particular group. Or, the bilingual may desire, or feel obligated, to conform to the norms of the reference group.

If all of these conditions co-exist, the relative salience of the background situation will be high. If a bilingual views the valence of the group as positive, he will conform to that group's language demand; if the group's valence is negative however, the bilingual will try to disassociate himself from that group.

Should the background situation be less obtrusive in the contact setting, then personal needs and the immediate situation will have a greater effect on language selection. Personal needs will be prominent when 1) the setting is private, not public; 2) the situation is one of high tension, frustration, or insecurity; and 3) the situation

touches the "central", rather than the "peripheral", layers of the personality.

The immediate situation meanwhile gains in salience when 1) the bilingual is not concerned with group identifications; 2) the behaviour is task oriented; and 3) well-established patterns of behaviour characterize a relationship.

It is worth noting that in Herman's approach to the determinants of language usage the bilingual himself plays a more "cognitive" role in language choice. While Fishman and others deal with "physical" or spatially-located determinants (such as place of work, the home, etc.), and do allow for more "abstract" determinants such as value clusters and language attitudes, Herman analyzes bilingual language choice determinants from a more abstract, more psychological standpoint. Herman does acknowledge the importance of *physical location* as a domain (for example, language choice may differ in a private, as opposed to a public, setting) but he places greater importance on the *psychological location* of a bilingual.

Utilizing case studies of American and English immigrants in Israel, Herman goes on to show how a pattern of immigrant language assimilation emerges and is observable in various stages. The influence of the immediate, personal, and background needs fluctuates at each stage. The stages are the following:

Stage 1: *A Period of Anticipatory Socialization* - Before leaving his native country, an individual may spend much of his time studying the language of the country which he wishes to migrate to. He is very enthusiastic about the prospect of life in the host country, and is preparing himself for it.

Stage 2: *A Period of Over-Conformity - Dominance of Background* - Upon arrival to the host country, an immigrant is anxious to be accepted as a member of the host country, and feels that the key to his acceptance is the mastery of the host country's language. While the immigrant does encounter difficulties with the new language and possibly in adapting to the new environment, he nonetheless feels satisfied that he is making some progress. The preponderance of the background situation in the more immediate situation is exerting considerable pressure on the immigrant to use the language of the host country.

Stage 3: *A Period of Vacillation - Fluctuating Potency of Background and Personal Needs* - After a while in the host country however, the immigrant's enthusiasim and sense of accomplishment start to wane. He becomes increasingly conscious of the limits to his knowledge of the host country's language. He may even search out other members of his ethnolinguistic group, so that he can use his native tongue.

At this stage, Herman makes an interesting observation that the immigrant starts to compare his facility in the

language of the host country with [1] his facility in other languages he knows; [2] the standards of society at large; and [3] those whom he comes into contact with in the immediate situation.

In [1] the immigrant feels extremely frustrated, for his knowledge of the host country's language does not match that of his own. He may feel, in Herman's words, that "the limits on his range of expression result in a poverty of thought and that he is not his 'old self'" (1961:160). The immigrant who is cited by Herman reports:

> I was conscious of a constant sense of irritation at being unable to express myself adequately and precisely, and gradually realized that my general level of thinking was being affected by this state of affairs. It seemed as though I was adjusting my thinking within the capacity range of my ability to express myself, in other words, to an infantile level.

Comparison [2] offers some comfort to the immigrant for he realizes that he is not the only immigrant in the host country, and that others are encountering the same difficulties he is.

However, at the present stage it is [3] which has the greatest salience. Should the immigrant work with or encounter in various domains native members of the host country - as no doubt he will - he will be rather disenchanted in the realization that he is at a great disadvantage when he compares their facility in the host country's language with that of his own.

Stage 4: *Retreat and Withdral - Dominance of Personal Needs* - This stage could be viewed as the most critical if

the immigrant is to adapt to life in the host country, particularly from a linguistic standpoint. The immigrant in the case study cited by Herman came to Israel alone, and consequently encountered serious problems in the social-cultural sphere. An immigrant is a stranger in (what appears to him) a strange land. Feelings of being an outsider and of possessing less prestigious status than that enjoyed in his country of origin will be exacerbated if the immigrant concerned lacks proficiency in the host country's language.

As mentioned in [1] of stage 3, the immigrant may not feel his "old self", for his ability of self-expression has regressed considerably. As a result, he might even search out other members of his ethnolinguistic group, so that he can use his native tongue. His self-image and self-confidence would be restored by such an action, for he could he express his "true self" and not find it difficult to do so. However, when one compares the immigrant's outlook and language-learning efforts in stages 1 and 2 with the same efforts in this stage, we see that contact with other immigrants of the same origin is rather "self-defeating". In other words, the immigrant is no longer progressing in the assimilation process, but is instead regressing.

Stage 5: *Adjustment and Integration - Dominance of Immediate Situation* - Should the immigrant be able to overcome the difficulties in stage 4, he will come to feel more at ease in using the language of the host country, and

his choice of which language to use at any one time will be more dependent on the demands of the immediate situation. No longer is there dominance of the background situation (stage 2) or of personal needs (stage 4), as a certain equilibrium has been reached.

Herman adds that in stage 5 an immigrant may undergo an unexpected setback concerning his expectations of social contact with native members of the host country. In the preceding stages the immigrant felt that the prime obstacle to his acceptance in the host society was that of language. But now, even though the obstacle of language has been overcome, the immigrant discovers that acceptance is still incomplete. It seems that the immigrant cannot shed himself completely of his former identity, and perhaps this is not even desirable. Indeed, Herman notes of the immigrant whose case study he describes:

> He cannot become an Israeli such as the local-born Israeli is, but he can become an Israeli of English background who recognizes that he is unable to shed what he has acquired in the course of a long socialization process. (1961:161)

Although the case study used by Herman to show stages of language assimilation may be seen as a "textbook case", it nonetheless provides a very useful framework for analyzing immigrant linguistic assimilation. It places particular emphasis on the "psychological domain" in which an immigrant finds himself, suggests that an immigrant may find it desirable to maintain contact with members of his ethnolinguistic group, allows for variation (stage 5 for

example is introduced by saying "*If* this crisis is weathered ...)', and also accounts for regression in the assimilation process.

At this point, one may ask how Herman's five-stage model compares with Fishman's four-stage schematic. However, the writer feels that both models are not comparable, as they have different premises and perspectives. Of prime importance in Fishman's model are the bilingual status of the immigrant ("compound" or "coordinate") and the relationship between domains ("overlapping" and "non-overlapping"). In other words, Fishman's model deals exclusively with the linguistic aspect of immigrant assimilation. It does not include any of the ongoing psychological, social, and cultural processes affecting language maintenance and shift. As mentioned previously, these processes are outside of language *per se*. The model proposed by Herman meanwhile relies heavily on these "processes outside of language". In short, Fishman proceeds with his schematic from a linguistic foundation, while Herman proceeds from a socio-psychological one.

One final comment related to Fishman's and Herman's analysis of language usage is that of "language attitudes", which will be discussed at greater length in the next chapter. Suffice it to say for now that a bilingual's attitudes towards the languages he knows and towards the people with whom he speaks may greatly influence his

---

'The emphasis is that of the present writer's.

language behaviour. Mackey (1962:66) writes that a bilingual may avoid using one of his languages as he is ashamed of his accent,[5] or the language is that of an unpopular country or community. Mackey adds that some speakers of minority languages may even harbour some degree of disrespect for their first tongue and admiration for their second.

It has been shown in this chapter that language usage is a reflection of many different sociolinguistic processes involving bilinguals, who may or may not be immigrants. Special attention has been paid here to bilinguals who are immigrants, and a very general discussion of immigrant language usage and linguistic assimilation was included. The next chapter will deal with immigrant language usage in very specific groups, namely, language usage between certain Slavic immigrants in Canada.

---

[5]That a bilingual would be ashamed of his accent, according to Mackey, is due to the hearer's attitude towards him as a speaker. The attitudes of native members of a host country towards immigrants should not be underestimated, as they can in fact influence the rate and manner in which an immigrant does assimilate (Jones and Lambert 1959:538).

II. Language Usage Amongst Slavic Immigrants in Canada

The years between 1880 - 1920 saw the first major wave of Central and East European immigrants arrive in Canada. A considerable portion of these immigrants were Slavs, a people who were to play an important role in the settlement and development of the country, particularly in Western Canada. During the inter-War period, and at various times in the post-World War II era, Slavs have continued to migrate to Canada, bringing with them their native tongues and traditions. An examination of the language usage of members of various Slavic groups in Canada, especially of those Slavs in the Prairie provinces (Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba) where the Slavic ethnic population is highly concentrated, can lead to some interesting observations concerning language maintenance and language shift.

Studies pertaining to language maintenance and language shift amongst Slavs in Canada rely heavily upon two sources of data: 1) that which is collected by individual researchers who administer their own questionnaires and conduct interviews with Slavic ethnics (survey data), and 2) information obtained from Canadian census data. While not all studies make use of the former, many (in fact, almost all) utilize the latter to some degree.

Canadian Census Data and Language

Census data are an almost indispensible tool to the researcher, for as Kogler (1978) observes, it allows us to

see not only changes in ethnic composition from a purely demographic standpoint (such as age and sex composition), but also in terms of the degree of assimilation into the dominant group.

On the 1971 Canadian census questionnaire,[1] the questions which allow one to measure the degree of assimilation of ethnic groups into the dominant groups (French or English) pertain to 1) ethnic origin, 2) mother tongue, and 3) language spoken at home.

In Kogler's opinion, it is very difficult to determine the actual size of a given ethnolinguistic group by utilizing the figure obtained from the question on ethnic origin ("to which ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor - on the male side - belong on coming to this continent?"). The difficulty here lies in the fact that what is generally understood by "ethnic origin" may be quite different from a respondent's actual sense of "belonging" to a certain ethnic group. Census questionnaire respondents do not have the option of entering "Canadian" as an answer to the question on ethnicity, having to reply "Ukrainian", "German", "English", or whatever instead. There could be a considerable difference in the statistics on "ethnic origin", should "Canadian" be offered as a possible reply.

The question on the language most often spoken at home (which was included in the census questionnaire for the

---

[1]At the time of writing, results of the 1981 Canadian census were still being analyzed and had not been published in their entirety.

first time in 1971) is also not the best indicator for determining the size of an ethnic group, for it does not take into account mixed marriages, or second and third generation Canadians who possess only some knowledge of their ethnic tongue, while at the same time deeply respect their cultural heritage.[7]

Thus, the question on "ethnic origin" may *overestimate* the size of an ethnolinguistic group, while the question on "language most often spoken at home" may *underestimate* the size of a group.

The question on "mother tongue" ("language first spoken and still understood") may be the most useful in determining the size of ethnolinguistic minorities, for it removes most of the ambiguities of the other two questions. Unfortunately, ambiguities still exist here to some extent, for respondents may have used their mother tongue several years previously, but no longer use it in everyday life. Consequently, data obtained in response to the question on "mother tongue" may either overestimate or underestimate the size of an ethnolinguistic group.

Clearly, in order to obtain some measure of the degree of ethnolinguistic assimilation, the question on "ethnic origin" must be cross-classified with the other two criteria. Such cross-tabulations have been used to determine

---

[7] Isajiw (1976:83) notes; "For many people, the appreciation of their ethnic language alongside other parts of their ethnic heritage, may be even more important than the fluent knowledge or everyday use of the language itself". The relationship between ethnic identity and ethnic tongue preservation will be discussed shortly.

language retention rates in studies by Anderson (1978) and Kosiński (1980).

The Linguistic Status of Slavs in Canada

As the question on language used at home did not exist on the census questionnaire prior to 1971, the only figures on assimilation tendencies were those obtained by dividing the number of speakers of a given language by the number of people claiming to be of that ethnolinguistic origin. By utilizing these language retention ratios, the present writer has determined the language retention rates for Slavic groups in Canada during a thirty -year period (1941-1971), which can be seen in Table 1. Language retention rates for Alberta in the same time period can be seen in Table 2, while the rates for Slavs in Edmonton - which does not include results of the 1941 census owing to a lack of sufficient data - can be seen in Table 3. (The writer has singled out Alberta and Edmonton for analysis since the study described in the next chapter was carried out in Edmonton).

Upon even a cursory glance at the tables, it becomes apparent that all the Slavic groups have undergone a considerable degree of assimilation in the thirty year period, some more so than others. While some groups, such as the Russians at both the national level and in Alberta, along with Edmonton's Czechoslovak community, showed some signs of recovery in the 1971 census, the increase they

TABLE 1. "Language Retention Rates Amonst Selected Slavic Groups in Canada (1941-1971)"

Slavic Group	1941 Total	No. Speaking the Slavic Language	Correlation	1951 Total	No. Speaking the Slavic Language	Correlation
Czechoslovak	42,912	37,604	87.6	63,959	45,516	71.2
Polish	167,485	128,711	76.8	224,845	129,238	58.8
Russian	83,708	52,431	62.6	91,729	39,223	43.0
Ukrainian	305,929	313,273	102.4	395,043	352,323	89.2
Yugoslav	21,214	14,863	70.1	21,404	11,031	51.5
	1961			1971		
Czecholovak	73,061	51,423	70.4	81,870	45,150	55.1
Czech	48,341	-	-	57,840	27,780	48.0
Slovak	24,720	-	-	24,030	17,370	72.3
Polish	323,517	161,720	50.0	316,425	134,780	42.6
Russian	119,168	42,903	36.0	64,475	31,745	49.2
Ukrainian	473,337	361,496	76.4	580,660	309,855	53.4
Yugoslav	68,587	28,866	42.1	104,950	74,190	70.7
Croatian	-	-	-	23,380	20,860	89.2
Serbian	-	-	-	6,975	5,225	74.9
Slovenian	-	-	-	7,305	6,415	87.8
Yugoslav (n.o.s.)'	-	-	-	67,295	41,690	62.0

Sources:
1941 Census, Vol. II, Tables 30 and 53.
1951 Census, Vol.. I, Tables 31 and 54.
1961 Census, Bull. 1.2-5, Table 34.
1961 Census, Bull. 1.2-9, Table 63.
1971 Census, Bull. 1.3-2, Table 2.
1971 Census, Bull. 1.3-4, Table 18.

TABLE 2. "Language Retention Rates Amongst Slavic Groups in Alberta (1941-1971)"

1941

Slavic Group	Total No.	Speaking the Slavic Language	Correlation
Czechoslovak	8,177	6,755	82.6
Polish	26,845	19,105	71.1
Russian	19,316	5,447	28.2
Ukrainian	71,68	74,837	104.1
Yugoslav	1,704	1,131	66.4

1951

Czechoslovak	10,837	6,667	61.5
Polish	29,661	15,234	51.4
Russian	15,353	4,168	27.1
Ukrainian	86,957	82,008	94.3
Yugoslav	1,455	834	57.3

1961

Czechoslovak	12,448	5,725	46.0
(Czech)	(8,454)	-	-
(Slovak)	(3,994)	-	-
Polish	40,539	16,755	41.3
Russian	17,952	3,675	20.5
Ukrainian	105,923	83,923	79.2
Yugoslav	5,329	1,775	33.3

1971

Czechoslovak	12,975	5,710	44.0
Czech	10,325	3,985	38.6
Slovak	2,650	1,725	65.1
Polish	44,325	13,725	31.0
Russian	10,235	2,620	25.4
Ukrainian	135,515	70,900	52.3
Yugoslav	7,410	4,510	61.0
Croatian	1,130	1,035	91.6
Serbian	275	130	47.3
Slovenian	290	240	82.8
Yugoslav (n.o.s.)	5,720	3,105	54.3

TABLE 3. "Language Retention Rates Amongst Selected Slavic Groups in Edmonton (1951-1971)"

1951

Slavic Group	Total No.	Speaking the Slavic Language	Correlation
Czechoslovak	842	389	71.8
Polish	5,593	2,652	47.4
Russian	1,684	595	35.3
Ukrainian	17,310	15,140	87.5

1961

Czechoslovak	1,748	725	41.5
Polish	11,197	4,747	42.4
Russian	2,276	729	32.0
Ukrainian	32,526	24,388	75.0

1971

Czechoslovak	2,860	1,385	48.4
Polish	15,505	5,190	33.5
Russian	2,040	605	29.7
Ukrainian	58,475	29,350	50.2

Yugoslav	1,710

Sources:
1951 Census, Vol. I, Tables 35 and 57.
1961 Census, Bull. 1.2-5, Table 38.
1961 Census, Bull. 1.2-9, Table 67.
1971 Census, Bull. 1.3-2, Table 5.
1971 Census, Bull. 1.3-4, Table 21.

TABLE 4. "Home Language Usage Amongst Selected Groups of Slavic Immigrants (1971)"

Canada

Slavic Group	Total Mother Tongue	No. Speaking the Slavic Language at Home	Correlation
Czechoslovak	45,150	24,555	54.4
Czech	27,780	15,090	54.3
Slovak	17,370	9,465	54.5
Polish	134,780	70,960	52.6
Russian	31,475	12,590	40.0
Ukrainian	309,855	144,760	46.8
Yugoslav	74,190	29,310	39.5
Croatian	20,860	2,745	13.2
Serbian	5,225	485	9.3
Slovenian	6,415	375	5.8
Yugoslav (n.o.s.)	41,690	25,705	61.7

Alberta

Czechoslovak	5,710	2,440	42.7
Czech	3,985	1,690	42.4
Slovak	1,725	750	43.8
Polish	13,725	5,095	37.1
Russian	2,620	650	24.8
Ukrainian	70,900	27,240	38.4
Yugoslav	4,510	1,720	38.1
Croatian	1,035	120	11.6
Serbian	130	5	38.5
Slovenian	240	10	41.7
Yugoslav (n.o.s.)	3,105	1,580	50.9

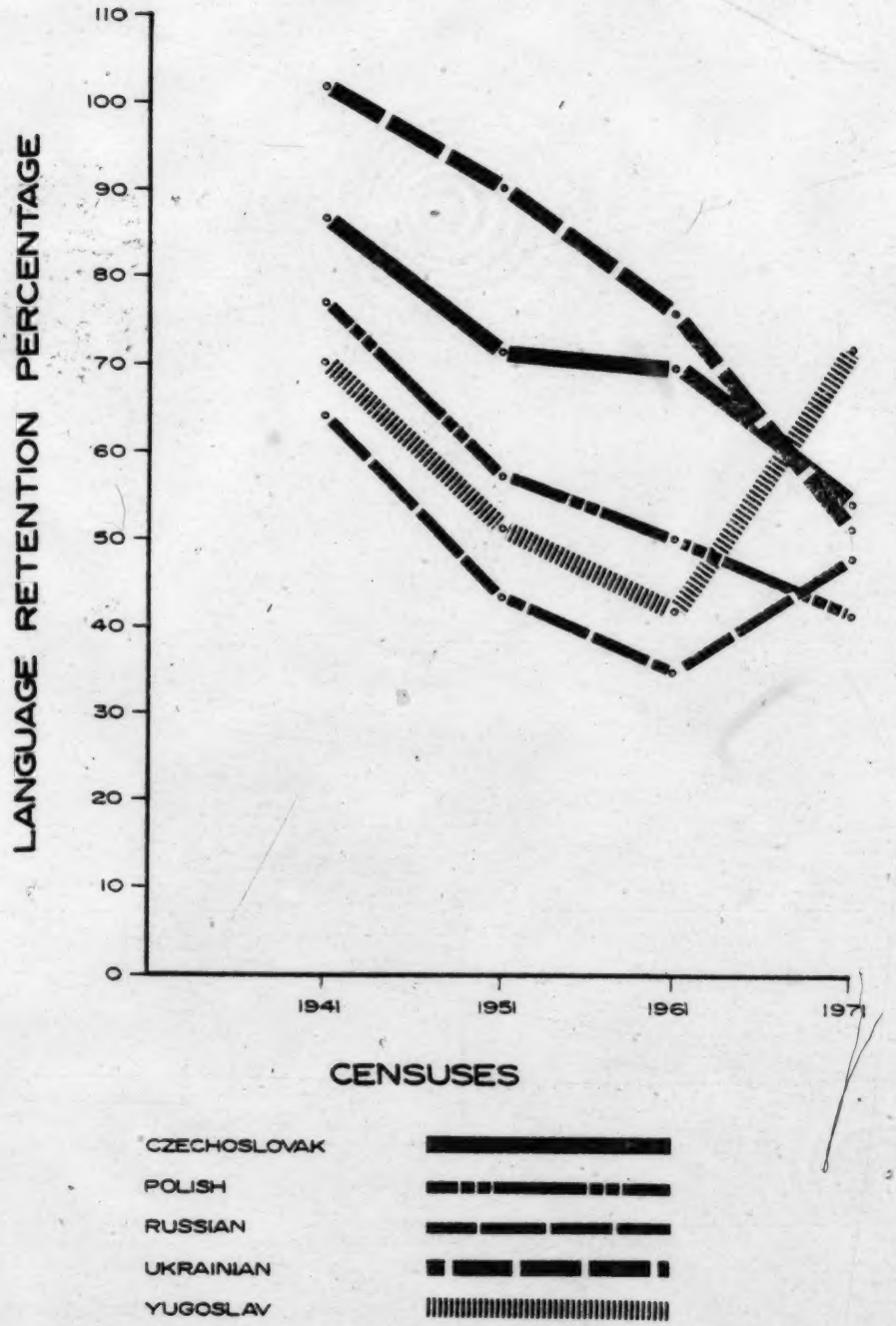
Edmonton

Czechoslovak	1,385	460	33.2
Polish	5,190	2,125	41.
Russian	605	135	22.3
Ukrainian	29,350	10,020	34.1
Yugoslav	1,710	865	50.6

Sources: 1971 Census, Bull. 1.3-5, Tables 26 and 29.

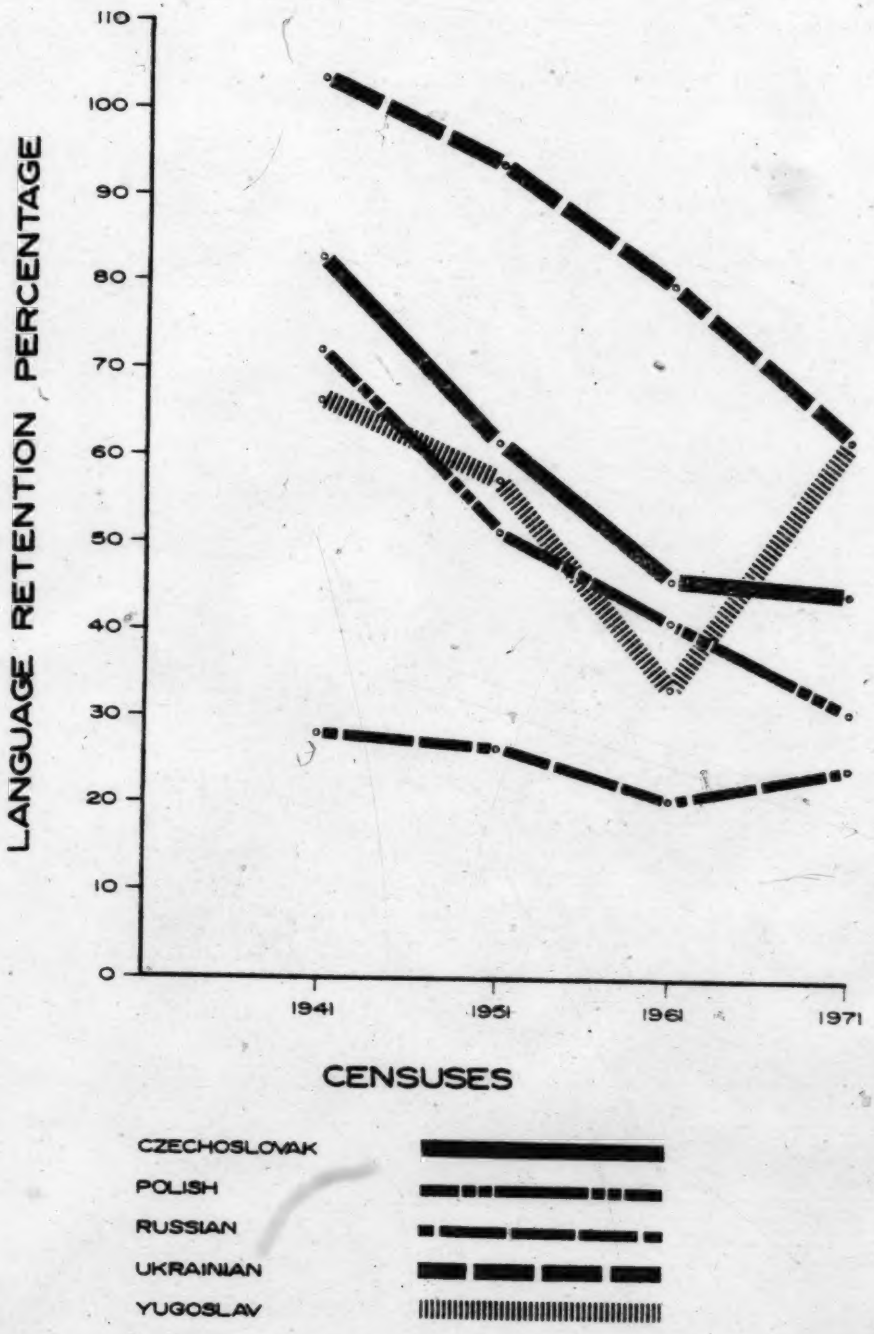
"Language Rentention Ratios Amongst Slavs in Canada

(Graph of Table 1)"



"Language Retention Ratios Amongst Slavs in Alberta

(Graph of Table 2)"



experienced did not come close to making up the losses of the previous twenty years. Only one group by 1971, the Yugoslavs, was able to recover to a point equalling or almost equalling the 1941 figures.

The data on the numerically largest group, the Ukrainians, present some interesting figures for two reasons. Firstly, the figures obtained from the 1941 census are obviously inflated (102.4 for Canada and 104.1 for Alberta). What happened is that more people claimed Ukrainian as their mother tongue than those claiming Ukrainian origin. Secondly, it is noteworthy that despite having the highest language retention ratios for each census, the Ukrainians have experienced the most dramatic decline in language retention rate between 1941 and 1971 amongst all the groups shown. In Alberta, the drop was 51.8, and not much lower for the rest of Canada (49.0). The figures for Edmonton in the shorter period between 1951 and 1971 also show the highest rate of decline (37.3).

There is an additional facet to analyzing the Czechoslovak figures for the 1971 census, for this was the first time that the distinction between Czech and Slovak, both ethnically and linguistically, was made in the census. Thus, rather than being treated as the same group, Czechs and Slovaks could now be compared to one another. The 1971 census shows that in Edmonton, Alberta, and Canada as a whole, the "Czechoslovak" group maintained fairly respective language retention ratios (48.4, 44.0, and 55.1

respectively) relative to the other groups. However, the Czech-Slovak breakdown in the 1971 census showed that the Czechs had assimilated linguistically to a much greater extent than the Slovaks. In Alberta, the ratios are 38.6 for Czechs and 65.1 for Slovaks, and nationally 48.0 for Czechs as opposed to 72.3 for Slovaks.

A similar situation has occurred with the Yugoslav figures. Prior to 1971, Croats, Serbs, Slovenes, and Macedonians were treated in the census as one ethnolinguistic monolith ("Yugoslav"). The term "Yugoslav" was broken down in the 1971 census, and the data show that language retention amongst Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes nationally was extremely high (89.2, 74.9, and 87.8), and that only the Serbs in Alberta (47.3) were lower than 50% (the Croats in Alberta were 91.6, and the Slovenes 82.8). The reason for these figures being so high may well be a reflection of the increase in the number of native Yugoslav-speakers - 28.6 nationally and 27.7 in Alberta - between 1961 and 1971. Owing to immigration, the number of Yugoslav-born population in Canada reached an all time high of 78,000 in 1971, an increase from 51,000 in 1961. This influx of Yugoslav emigres gave a considerable boost to the language retention figures, which had slumped considerably since 1941.

Also of note in the 1971 Yugoslav data is the entry "Yugoslav - not-otherwise specified". Despite the ethnic breakdown on the census, a large proportion of Yugoslavs did

not list themselves as belonging to any particular south Slavic group, instead just listing "Yugoslav". Perhaps it could be surmised from this that these people were not as "ethnically conscious" as those who listed themselves in separate groups. Indeed, the language retention ratios would seem to lend some credence to this way of thinking, for the language retention ratios for the "Yugoslav not-otherwise specified" group are markedly lower than those of the other groups (the exception being Alberta's Serbs - 47.3 - as compared to the unspecified Yugoslavs - 54.3).

With the introduction of the question on home language usage in 1971, another parameter for measuring linguistic assimilation was obtained by dividing the number of people speaking a given Slavic language at home by the total number of people who consider that language their native tongue. Unlike the data obtained from the question on mother tongue, which can be used only to determine linguistic assimilation, the question on language usage at home allows one to measure not only language *assimilation*, but language *usage* as well. (Home language usage ratios can be seen in Table 4).

When the home language data are combined with the other two criteria ("ethnic origin" and "mother tongue"), a "descending" series of figures results. For example, in 1971 25.4% of all people of Russian ethnic origin in Alberta considered Russian their mother tongue. Of this 25.4%, 24.8% used Russian as the home language. The degree of assimilation is seen most vividly when these figures are

analyzed in terms of actual numbers: 10,235 ethnic Russians, 2,620 native speakers, and 650 home users.

Some unexpected observations can be seen in the home language data. For instance, it was found that the Poles at all three levels had home language usage ratios which either matched or were higher than those of the Ukrainians or Czechoslovaks, who possessed higher language retention ratios. In other words, while fewer Poles than Ukrainians or Czechoslovaks spoke their mother tongue, those who did speak Polish used it at home more often than Ukrainians or Czechoslovaks used their languages.

A similar tendency was noticed between Czechs and Slovaks themselves. Although a considerably higher proportion of Slovak ethnics could speak Slovak as compared to the number of Czech ethnics who spoke Czech, the home language figures for both groups are practically the same.

The figures for home language show that Edmonton ranks below the Alberta average for practically all groups, and Alberta in turn ranks below the national average. One exception is that of Edmonton's Poles (41.0), who are higher than the Alberta average (37.1), but still much lower than the national average (52.6). Other exceptions are Serbs and Slovenes in Alberta (38.5 and 41.7, compared with the national figures of 9.3 and 5.8).*

---

* Caution must be used in interpreting the data on all Yugoslav ethnic groups in the 1971 census owing to the large numbers of Yugoslavs in the "Yugoslav (not-otherwise specified)" category. As a consequence of this, the figures cited for each separate Yugoslav group may either overestimate or underestimate the actual figure for a given

A most puzzling feature of the home language data is the figures for the "Yugoslav (n.o.s.)" category. Although Tables 1 and 2 show that this group has the lowest language retention ratios of all the Yugoslav ethnic groups, Table 4 shows that the unspecified Yugoslavs have home usage ratios which are far above those of the other Yugoslavs. This problem has been acknowledged by Kosiński (1980:49), who writes:

> The decline in language loyalty was very striking when the mother tongue was compared with the language spoken at home. It appears that hardly anybody identified the language used as Croatian, Serbian or Slovenian, and the erosion was least advanced among those who spoke "Yugoslav". This erosion might be a function of size, i.e., the spoken language tended to disappear in small linguistic groups rather than in larger ones. Admittedly, all these conclusions can only be regarded as tentative and should be tested by more specific survey methods.

Kosiński's mention of "more specific survey methods" points out a shortcoming of using census data in studies on Slavs, or on any ethnic group for that matter. The shortcoming consists in the fact that census data can only be so detailed, otherwise, should all the information we want be included in it, we would require a huge and very complex questionnaire which would be extremely difficult to analyze. Moreover, the data obtained *may still not* fulfill our demands of it. Therefore, while census data may provide us with a general statistical overview of a certain topic (such

---

'(cont'd)group. In Table 4, it may be the case that more Serbs and Slovenes across Canada than in Alberta listed their home language as "Yugoslav" instead of "Serbian" or "Slovene". This would account for the vast difference between the Alberta and Canadian figures.

as language usage amongst Slavs in Canada), it does not provide us with a specific, much more detailed analysis of a given subject (such as situational language usage amongst selected groups of Slavic immigrants in Edmonton). Thus, the need for survey data arises.

Ethnicity and Language Usage

It is noteworthy that many studies dealing with language maintenance and language shift amongst Slavs in Canada do not deal exclusively with the realm of language. Rather, many studies examine various aspects of ethnic minority status (such as sense of ethnic identity, religious affiliation, cultural values, and variations in demographic data), only one component of which is language. Indeed, upon reviewing the literature, one would get the impression that it is extremely difficult to separate the discussion of language maintenance and language shift from the more general discussion of ethnicity amongst immigrant groups. This should not be considered surprising, for the relationship between the preservation of a given ethnic tongue on the one hand, and the survival of that ethnic group on the other, is seen by many students of sociolinguistics and ethnic studies as an extremely important one.

It is felt by some scholars that if the sense of ethnic identity within a certain ethnic group is strong, the mother tongue of that group will be preserved to a considerable

degree. It follows from this viewpoint that, should the mother tongue of the ethnic group not be maintained, it is a sign that the group itself has ceased to exist. In other words, linguistic assimilation is an indication of complete assimilation into the dominant culture of the host country. Samora and Deane (1956:308) have suggested that language usage in a culture-contact situation is an excellent measure of acculturation and can therefore be used as a reliable index of acculturation. Kent (1953:42-43) writes that knowledge of the language of the host country is at once an aid to and an index of assimilation, and adds: "In some ways, language is a unique index of assimilation since it is a cultural trait that is almost impossible to mix and use."

Other scholars however, while not denying the significance of linguistic assimilation as an indicator of overall assimilation, do question just how closely language maintenance and language shift are related to ethnicity. Anderson (1979:67) for example, points out that "if the linguistic factor is *usually* important for most ethnic groups, it is not *always* an important, much less the *only* component of ethnic identity". Anderson claims that there are other important components of ethnic identity, probably the most common of which is religion. Examples he cites are the Mennonites in Canada and Reform Jews. Members of such groups identify primarily with religion and not language, for they are "ethno-religious" as opposed to "ethno-linguistic".

Anderson suggests that the link between linguistic assimilation and group assimilation is dependent upon the importance a given ethnic group has traditionally accorded language. Loss of the mother tongue in a group which has emphasized maintenance of that tongue may indeed be tantamount to overall assimilation. In other ethnic groups meanwhile, the "keynote" to group identity may be religion or customs, and for such groups linguistic assimilation cannot be the primary index for measuring overall assimilation. Hence, Anderson concludes:

> Ethnic consciousness is not necessarily dependent on maintenance of a unique traditional language, although linguistic change in an ethnic group may be to some extent an indication of acculturation and assimilation.(1979:68)

It is important to mention that the discussion of the link between ethnicity and language maintenance concerns two different categories of ethnics - 1) those who are immigrants themselves, and 2) their descendants (second- or more generation Canadians). The problem of "language maintenance" is quite a different one for both groups. When we speak of language maintenance in the immigrant group, we are more concerned with structural changes - i.e., lexical, phonetic, and stylistic changes - that have taken place in the mother tongue itself owing to the influence of the language of the host country. When the term "language maintenance" however is applied to the Canadian-born offspring of immigrants, we are not concerned merely with any structural changes in the way the offspring speak the

ethnic tongue, but, more importantly, we must ask how much knowledge, if any at all, do they possess of the ethnic tongue.

In other words, for the immigrant group there is no question as to whether or not the mother tongue is preserved; rather, the question is, in what form is it preserved. For the offspring of the immigrants meanwhile, the first question to be asked is whether the ethnic tongue is preserved, and if so, then it may be asked what form it is preserved in.

Priestly (1978:156) makes a distinction between "statistical" and "linguistic" questions. The question "how much is language X maintained?" concerns statistics, for it is in fact a "head count" of all those people who speak a given language (which is what census data are). On the other hand, the question "how much of language X is maintained?" is a linguistic question, for it pertains to structural changes in language X.

The problem with many studies that examine the relationship between language maintenance and ethnic identity is that they treat ethnic communities as a monolith, for rarely is a distinction made between the various generations within an ethnic group. This in fact was a serious criticism of the Non-Official Languages Study commissioned by the Secretary of State in 1971. Ethnic generation was not seen as a key variable in the study, leading to a "generational undersampling". In criticizing

this aspect of the study, Isajiw (1976:83) asserts:

> At the center of the problem of ethnic persistence is the problem of generations. Any attempt to assess the retention of ethnic languages has to take into account the differences between the ethnic generations and the problems of the relationship between them. The crux of the matter is that members of each generation may have different attitudes and orientations toward their ethnic tongue.

The same could be said of census data on language maintenance, which do not distinguish between native speakers of a language who are immigrants, and native speakers of that same language who were born in Canada. Measuring the number of native speakers of a certain language - as censuses do - is quite a different measure than that obtained by enumerating strictly the number of Canadian-born speakers of that language. The writer suggests that a more accurate measure of language maintenance could be obtained by determining the total of native Canadians who consider some language other than French or English their mother tongue. It would be absurd to suggest that an immigrant (provided that he did not migrate at a very early age) would possess no knowledge of his native language. As such, only "linguistic" questions of language maintenance apply to him. A "statistical" measure of language maintenance including such an immigrant would seem to be superfluous. A true statistical measure of language maintenance is in fact a measure of the continued existence of an ethnic language from generation to generation.

Problematics of Language Usage Between Slavic Groups

A most important point to keep in mind when discussing language usage amongst Slavic immigrants in Western Canada - or amongst Slavs anywhere for that matter - is that the Slavic languages may well represent the most unified branch of the Indo-European language family. This facilitates a considerable degree of mutual comprehensibilty between speakers of different Slavic tongues, a comprehensibility which does not exist to the same degree between speakers of most other closely related Indo-European languages (such as between French and Italian for example). As Krivčik and Možejko (1974:10) have noted:

> The Eastern Slavs (Russians, Byelorussians, and Ukrainians) can easily understand one another, even though each of the East Slavic languages has its own specific peculiarities. For all intents and purposes, East Slavs can understand a great deal if they listen carefully to any Slavic tongue, without a knowledge of Polish, Czech, Bulgarian, Serbian, or the other Slavic languages. This is explained by the fact that all the modern Slavic languages are closely related languages and possess many common lexical, phonetic, and morphological features.
>
> The modern Slavic languages are particularly close in their lexical composition. A great many words are Common Slavic, i.e., they are characteristic to all the modern Slavic languages.

As there already exists a plethora of books, essays, and articles which describes in great detail the similarities between the various Slavic languages, the present writer will not concern himself with providing comparative material to show how close the Slavic languages are. However, the writer does consider it important to discuss the concept of "mutual comprehensibility" between Slavic speakers.

It should be said from the start that "mutual comprehensibility" is a very relative term, dependent upon [1] the degree of similarity between the Slavic languages used in a given contact situation; [2] the ability of the various Slavic interlocutors in a contact situation to "adjust" to differences in the other Slavic language; and [3] the attitude of each Slavic interlocutor in a contact situation towards the Slavic language used by the other.

[1] takes into account the fact that not all the Slavic languages are equally close to one another. For instance, a Czech can understand Slovak almost perfectly - if not perfectly - but will not find it as easy to understand Bulgarian.

Note that reference to the Slavic languages in this discussion is to the standardized versions of the languages in contact. If dialects are considered, the degree of mutual comprehensibility may be considerably less. Again, to use the Czech-Slovak example, we find that while standard Czech is perfectly understandable to Slovaks, there are some dialects of Czech which Slovaks have trouble understanding.

The problem of dialect intelligibility as opposed to standard language intelligibility is indeed very complex. Firstly, as is obvious, there are many more dialects of Slavic than there are literary languages. Hence, instead of trying to determine how much Serbian a Ukrainian can understand, we would have to determine if a Ukrainian could understand dialectical variants A, B, C, and D of Serbian.

It is much easier then, to compare standardized versions of Slavic languages than one standardized language with the dialectical variants of another.

In addition, some dialects may vary from the standardized version to such a great extent, that speakers of the standard language have trouble understanding the dialect. Such is the case in some dialects of Eastern Slovak, where people do not "hovorit'" ("to speak" in standard Slovak), but instead "hutorit'" ("to speak" in Eastern Slovak; this form is not attested in standard Slovak).

The problem of the role played by dialects in affecting mutual comprehensibility between speakers of different Slavic languages (or even between speakers of the same Slavic language) should be decreasing in magnitude with the teaching of the standardized language in schools and the increased influence of the mass media (television, radio, newspapers) on people's speech.

Subsumed under [2] are what might be called "psycholinguistic" factors, that is, the ability or inability of a given Slavic speaker to adjust to phonetic, lexical, and morphological differences in another Slavic language. This can be seen in initial language contact situations, where two speakers of Slavic language A hear Slavic language B for the first time, yet one of the two cannot understand language B as well as the other. To cite an example, the writer knows of a Polish couple who come

into fairly regular contact with Czechs. However, while the husband can understand Czech quite well, the wife finds it somewhat more difficult to understand Czech. Why should this be?

Perhaps it could be said that the husband has more of an "ear" for Czech. This would imply that he is more capable than his wife of discerning Czech phonemes that are similar to those in Polish, isolating those that are unlike Polish, and understanding Czech lexical items (which differ from Polish) by their context in the conversation. Note that these "abilities" are strictly psycholinguistic in nature, and are not to be confused with sociolinguistic determinants of language intelligibility such as language attitudes.

Unlike the factors involved in [2], which may vary from person to person and thus can be seen as "personal" features, [3] would seem to be more of a "societal" feature, as it in fact reflects the attitude of one people towards another.

Language attitudes can greatly affect intelligibility between two linguistically similar communities. This has been shown in the work by Hans Wolf (1959) on intelligibility between speakers of various Nigerian dialects. While Wolf compared language attitudes between speakers of dialects, what he discovered can be applied to mutual comprehensibility by Slavs of other Slavic languages. Wolf writes:

> ... in some areas there is a very low correlation between lexico-structural comparability on the one

> hand and intelligibility, claimed or proven, on the other. In other words, two dialects might prove to be extremely close when subjected to comparative linguistic analysis, while, at the same time, speakers of these dialects would claim that they could not understand each other. More puzzling, even, was the phenomenon of non-reciprocal intelligibility between two such closely related dialects.... It became obvious that more than linguistic similarity was involved in insuring a flow of communication between dialects. (1959:35-36)

That "extra factor" which complemented linguistic similarity in insuring mutual comprehensibility was language attitudes, that is, the attitude of the speakers of language A towards language B; or, to be more precise, towards the speakers of language B. Attitudes which interfere with mutual comprehensibility are by nature negative, and the purpose of the influence they exert upon intelligibility may be to place some distance between the two interacting parties.

When viewed from both a historical and contemporary perspective, animosities between various Slavic groups could well give rise to the formation of such negative attitudes, which could be reflected in attitudes towards language. Hostilities between Serbs and Croats, Czechs and Slovaks, and Poles and Ukrainians (to name a few) are manifest in various forms, not the least of which may be language. This can be seen in some East European states where charges of "cultural imperialism" (which includes the realm of language) have been made by members of various Slavic minorities against the larger Slavic ethnic groups with which they live.

One example would be that of inter-War Czechoslovakia, where - despite the existence of an official "language law" ("jazykový zákon") which proclaimed the existence of one "Czechoslovak" language possessing two official forms, Czech and Slovak - the Slovak language did not come near to enjoying the same status as Czech.'

A second example is that of the Soviet Union at the current time. Despite official Soviet claims that non-Russian minorities in the USSR, and particularly the large Byelorussian and Ukrainian minorities, enjoy full language rights (i.e., minority group children are taught in their native language, books and newspapers are published in the minority tongue, and so on) the importance of knowing Russian in the Soviet Union has led not only to an increase in the number of non-Russians who are bilingual in both their native tongue and Russian, but also to the appearance of ethnic minority members who consider Russian their native language.'°

' Salzmann (1971:12-13) cites two reasons for the failure of the Czechoslovak language law to be put into practice. One is that Slovak, owing to its poorly developed administrative and technical terminology, was clearly at a disadvantage to Czech. The other reason, and a more important one, was that the Czechs considered their culture, and especially their literature, to be superior to that of the Slovaks. Thus, the numerous Czech teachers and administrators who had gone to Slovakia after 1918 emphasized the concept of a "Czechoslovak nation" and a "Czechoslovak language". In Bohemia and Moravia meanwhile, the emphasis was placed more on the idea of a "Czech language" and a "Czech culture". This, needless to say, was not to the liking of the Slovaks, who felt that they were being treated as "second class citizens".

'° Carrère d'Encausse (1983:168-171) points out that of the major languages spoken in the Soviet Union (i.e., those languages which are the official languages of Soviet

As a result of this, charges of "Russification" are made by minority group nationalists, who view the status accorded the Russian language, along with its increased usage, as an infringement on both their linguistic and cultural livelihood.

Both of these examples concern language attitudes at the societal ("macroscopic") level. Examples of the role played by language attitudes in determining language usage at the "microscopic" level (that is, in the individual contact setting) are the following:

1) when the present writer informed a Slovak whom he'd just met that he spoke Russian, the Slovak replied, "We all (Czechs and Slovaks) used to speak Russian too. But after 1968, we all forgot how".[11]

2) a recent immigrant to Canada from the Ukraine, who is fluent in both Russian and Ukrainian, was asked by the writer what language he would use when approached by a stranger on the street in Kiev. Would he prefer to use Russian instead of Ukrainian, or would he use the same language as the stranger? The immigrant replied:

> If I saw that the person was from the countryside or some village, and he spoke Ukrainian, I'd use Ukrainian with him because he probably didn't know

---

[10](cont'd)republics), Ukrainian, and more so Byelorussian, are declining markedly in usage. There seems to be an inexorable trend toward Russian amongst speakers of Byelorussian and Ukrainian in the USSR.

[11] The Slovak was making obvious reference to the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968. He apparently felt that he and his countrymen could place some distance between themselves and the Russians - and therefore "voice" some of their opposition to the Soviets - by not having anything to do with the Russian language.

> much Russian. But, if the person who approached me seemed to be well educated - someone from university maybe - and he spoke Ukrainian with me, I'd use Russian in answering him. Why? Because a person like that would know Russian and Ukrainian, and he was using Ukrainian only to show he was some kind of Ukrainian nationalist. People at universities are like that, and I don't believe in their phony nationalism.

Regardless of the rightness or wrongness of the latter immigrant's opinions on Ukrainian nationalism, it is nonetheless noteworthy that his choice of language at the microscopic level is affected by his perception of fellow interlocutors, which in turn is affected by the macroscopic situation (this is akin to the background situation described by Herman in the first chapter).

Resistance to accomodate the other language in a bilingual setting is a function of language attitudes, and can greatly affect language usage between different ethnolinguistic groups. Such resistance may take the form of flatly refusing to learn the other language, or, should knowledge of the other language already exist, refusing to speak it or perhaps creating the impression that it cannot be understood.'[13]

It would be of considerable value to the present work if one could determine to what extent language attitudes

---

[13] Bourhis (1979:117) writes:

> The stuff of the dynamics of language in ethnic interaction is how speakers of similar or contrastive ethnic groups modulate both the *content* and the *form* of their utterances so as to communicate effectively and to express varying degrees of solidarity or distance with their interlocutors.

from Europe are carried into Canada and how they affect mutual comprehensibility and language usage amongst various Slavic groups. In addition, there is the very crucial issue of the attitude of Slavic immigrants - or indeed of any non-English or non-French speaking immigrants in Canada - towards the country's two official languages, and how the immigrants view the "secondary status" accorded their language. While there is undoubtedly a great desire amongst immigrants to learn the language of the host society in order to adapt to and function in that society, there may still be some reluctance to "let go" of the mother tongue. However, the concept of "language loyalty" (Fishman 1966), that is, the desire for language retention amongst immigrant groups, is an expression not so much of the attitude of immigrants towards the language(s) of the host country, but rather of their attitude towards their mother tongue.

Summary

In this chapter, the writer has attempted to discuss the various factors affecting language usage amongst Slavs, and has presented a statistical overview based on census data (in spite of their shortcomings) of the linguistic status of Slavs in Canada. One of the topics discussed - the relationship between language maintenance, assimilation, and ethnicity - requires considerably more treatment than that given here owing to its complexity. The writer suggested that there is a need for more data based on detailed

surveys, which would allow for a much more precise measurement of actual language usage than that provided for in the Canadian census.

It was further suggested that a distinction should be made when discussing language maintenance between first and succeeding generations of ethnics. Owing to the fact that the immigrant generation has had to contend with problems that their offspring have not (i.e., those problems concerning assimilation and acculturation), a detailed survey of language usage amongst specific groups of immigrants would be of some interest. It was with such an idea in mind that the writer undertook the study described in the next chapter.

III. The Study

Purpose and Design of the Study

The purpose of the study carried out by the writer was to determine language usage amongst several groups of Slavic-speaking immigrants in Edmonton. It was felt that if one could determine the types of languages used along with the frequency of their usage, some indication of language maintenance and language shift could be obtained. The term "language usage" applied only to the languages used in interlocution by speakers of these Slavic tongues. Thus, other forms of language usage, such as inner speech, correspondence, and reading were not examined.

In her study of Polish immigrants in Australia, Johnston (1965:12-18) defines two basic types of assimilation: 1) external assimilation - which occurs when an immigrant becomes indistinguishable from the other members of the host community, and 2) subjective assimilation - which occurs when an immigrant can positively identify with members of the host group in areas which originally set them apart. When Johnston applies these types of assimilation to language, external assimilation is seen as a measure of the *usage* of either the native or the host language, while subjective assimilation is a measure of the *preference* of using one language over another. The present study deals with the former, not the latter.

It should be said however, that although this study was not intended to deal with language attitudes, it was felt that some insights into language attitudes could be extrapolated from the data.

The present study was based on two premises discussed earlier: 1) the large Slavic ethnic population in Edmonton, and 2) the relative similarity between the Slavic languages. The writer believed that both of these premises would facilitate the development of many language-contact situations between Slavic speakers. The writer proposes that such contact is worth studying for several reasons.

Firstly, from a strictly academic viewpoint, such a study would allow a researcher to give an analysis of language relations not only between different Slavic groups, but also within each Slavic group concerned. Such an analysis would be of interest not only to to Slavicists, but also to sociologists and anthropologists who study language behaviour.

Secondly, the results of such a study could yield considerable insight into the language problems faced by immigrants in Edmonton. The writer feels the language problem is the major problem facing any immigrants - who have no knowledge of the language of a host country - in adapting to life in a new country. This problem of course faces every non-English speaking immigrant in Edmonton. However, owing to the two premises upon which the present study is based, the language assimilation process for

Slavic-speaking immigrants is more complex. A Slavic-speaking immigrant may find himself in situations where he can use his Slavic language instead of trying to use English, perhaps even in contact with second- or third-generation Canadians of Slavic descent. The question arises then, as to whether a Slavic immigrant spends considerable time in domains where he is forced to use English and therefore assimilates quickly, or, on the other hand, does his ability to understand other Slavic languages interfere with the rate of his linguistic assimilation? To use a metaphor, it could be asked if a Slavic-speaking immigrant is forced to "swim" in a "sea of English", or if he "swims" in this "sea" for only short periods, as he spends much of his time on Slavic "islands".

It is important to emphasize that we are speaking not only about contacts between members of the same Slavic group, but between members of *different* Slavic groups. For example, a Czech immigrant and a Pole may work together and speak with each other in their native tongues, or similarily, a recent Slovak immigrant may board with some Ukrainians who came to Canada 25 years ago, yet they can still understand each other to some degree.

A Slavic-immigrant's inability to assimilate from a linguistic standpoint may result in his overall assimilation being somewhat retarded. Frequent contact in different domains with other Slavs in Edmonton could easily lead to such a development, should English not be used in these

domains.

The third reason justifying a study of language usage amongst Slavic immigrants is that in addition to gaining an insight into the language problems faced by all immigrants, other more general aspects and problems of assimilation would be touched on, peripheral though they may be to the present study. Indeed, if language is "an essential part of culture and at the same time the instrument through which other aspects of culture are organized"[13], then language assimilation is to be seen as closely linked to other aspects of immigrant assimilation.

This study was designed to deal almost exclusively with language usage amongst Slavic-speaking immigrants. It was to consist of two parts, a questionnaire and interviews, both of which will be discussed shortly. At the beginning of the research, the writer realized that there might be some difficulty in finding immigrants to participate in the study. No "Slavic directory" or "mailing list" exists for Edmonton, so the writer had to rely on friends or acquaintances in the ethnic communities involved for names and phone numbers of other immigrants. In fact, even if such a "directory" existed, a true random sample - say, selecting every tenth Slav - might not bring about the results desired by a researcher. What a researcher studying East Europeans has to realize is that he will likely encounter problems which a sociologist or psychologist does not have to contend

---

[13] Shibutani and Kwan, 1965.

with in studying the general population. Owing to either the political conditions which East European immigrants have spent their pre-migration lives under, or the situation surrounding their migration to the West, or both, they may tend to treat studies involving their participation with some skepticism.

A comparison of attitudes to questionnaires may be in order as an explanation. When an average native-born Canadian is approached by a researcher to participate in a certain study, the Canadian will react with indifference, apathy, hostility, or enthusiasm for the study. Admittedly, any East European immigrant may react to a study in the same manner. However, unlike Canadians, there is some undeterminable percentage of East European immigrants who are afraid of participating in a study concerning them and are suspicious of both the researcher and his motives. It is not far from the truth to suggest that for such immigrants, a researcher - whom they do not know - may well be someone working for a Communist-block intelligence agency trying to elicit information from them. Even if an East European immigrant trusts the researcher, he may fear that any information obtained from him by the researcher will be used with some reference to him when the study is made public. Moreover, even if anonymity is guaranteed, the immigrant may feel that any East European authorities reading the results of the study will somehow be able to figure out who he is (perhaps from a case study described by the researcher).

Finally, any immigrants who did not leave their native country legally, but as political refugees (as was the case with many Czechs and Slovaks in 1968-69), may be even more concerned about someone delving into their past. Thus, while a researcher carrying out a study on Canadians in general may have to contend with apathy and indifference which interfere with getting as many subjects or respondents as he would like, a researcher working with East Europeans will likely have an additional attitude to cope with - a peculiar kind of "paranoia".

Attempting to obtain a random sample - if a list of the Slavic population was available - could well be hindered by this "paranoia" in the following manner. Let us say that a researcher has a list of 100 Czech names, and picks twenty randomly for his study. Upon contacting these people he is told by some of them that they do not wish to participate in the study for they do not know who the researcher is or what he is really after. The point here is that a certain percentage of those chosen in the random sample will not participate because of this paranoia. Then, if others do not participate for lack of interest, the random sample shrinks even more.

This form of paranoia may also have some effect on the answers of those who do participate in the study. This point was made very clearly to the writer by a Slovak immigrant who is a university professor:

> One thing you should take into account is the attitude of people from Communist countries towards

> questionnaires. They are not used to filling in questionnaires ... They are not used to being given a set of questions asking for their personal opinion on some subject.
>
> Even if they have had questionnaires before, they tend to fill them in with "safe" answers, that is, answers which would not incriminate them. Instead of giving his true opinion, a person would give an answer which is at best neutral.

As a result, the writer felt it extremely important for the study that he establish a high degree of trust with any potential subjects in order to overcome this paranoia. Trust, as already discussed, might not be established if names were randomly selected from a list. Thus, it was decided to utilize a sort of "fanning-out" principle in locating potential subjects. An immigrant known to the writer would be given a questionnaire and an interview, after which he would be asked for names of other immigrants. This group would then be approached by the writer, who, upon explaining the goals of the study and emphasizing that the study was apolitical, would tell them the name of the person who put him in contact with them, should the first immigrant have given his consent to do so. This, it was hoped, would establish some degree of trust because 1) the researcher would not appear as a "stranger out of the dark" so to speak, 2) it would allay any major fears that the questionnaire might demand some sensitive information from the immigrants, owing to the fact that a good friend, relative, or acquaintance had already filled it in, and 3) an immigrant who was still wary of the researcher and the questionnaire could contact the person who had participated

in the study and make inquires of him as to the "true nature" of the study.

From this second group of immigrants, the writer would obtain more contacts, and the whole procedure would be repeated.

Limits of the Study

The limits of the study were intended to define both the size and composition of the samples to be taken. The limits defining the study are the following: [1] Only Czech, Slovak, and Russian speaking immigrants would be studied. [2] 30 members of each group would be studied, totalling 90 subjects overall. [3] The immigrants had to have come to Canada in the post-World War II period. [4] All immigrants participating in the study had to have been at least 16 years of age upon arrival in Canada.

The reasons for selecting Czechs, Slovaks, and Russians in limit [1] are that firstly, the writer is familiar with the languages and cultures of these groups'*, and secondly, all three are minority groups within Edmonton's Slavic community.

The importance of this "minority group" status is based on simple probability. Not only does it allow for contact between members of the same Slavic group, but also allows for a greater possibility of contact with members of other Slavic groups, particularly with the larger Ukrainian and

---

'*The writer is of Slovak ethnic origin and has studied in the Soviet Union.

Polish communities. For instance, a Ukrainian is more likely to encounter members of his own Slavic group than a Slovak will of his. Conversely, a Ukrainian is less likely to meet by chance members of other Slavic groups than a Slovak is.

It is proposed therefore, that a better cross-section of intra- and intergroup contact can be obtained by studying the smaller as opposed to the larger Slavic groups.

Limits [2] and [3] were intended to break down the total Czech, Slovak, and Russian ethnic populations into sizes which would make both the collection and analysis of data manageable.

Limit [4] was designed not only to make the sample size more manageable, but also to take some other facts into account. It is well known that children have a much easier time than adults at learning a foreign language, so it follows that linguistic assimilation should not present the problem for them that it does for their parents. This is one reason why children were not included in the study.

The second reason why no one under the age of 16 was chosen is that 16 is the age at which primary education no longer need be continued and a young person may enter the work force. Unlike schools, where usage of English is strictly enforced and absolutely essential for advancement, the work place may not make anywhere near the stringent demands on English usage that the school does. Should a Czech, Slovak, or Russian work with other Slavs, the possibility of using his native tongue not only exists, but

moreover may not carry the stigma that it would in a school setting.

Variables in the Study

In designing the study, the writer tried to include as many factors as possible which he felt would play some role in determining language usage amongst the immigrants in the study. With language usage being the study's dependent variable, the writer found it helpful to divide the variables into the three categories proposed by Johnston (1965:28) who distinguishes between a) personal variables, which can be seen as intrinsic characteristics of a person, such as sex, age, ethnic origin, etc.; b) pre-migration variables, such as knowledge of the language of the host country, having friends in the host country, and so on; and c) post-migration variables, examples of which are length of time in the host country and employment in the host country.

When applied to the present study, these categories break down as follows:

a) personal variables
   - i. sex
   - ii. age
   - iii. ethnic origin

b) pre-migration variables
   - i. level of education upon arrival in Canada
   - ii. knowledge of English upon arrival in Canada
   - iii. contact with other Slavs in Europe

c) post-migration variables

i. contact with other Slavs in Canada

ii. length of time in Canada

iii. the study of English in Canada

a) Personal Variables

i. Sex - The writer decided to contrast men and women in the study for he felt that there may be significant differences between the two. In fact, it was hypothesized that men would be more inclined to use a language - be it English or Slavic - other than their native Slavic tongue. There were two reasons underlying this hypothesis.

Firstly, compulsory military service in Eastern Europe demands that males spend two or three years in the army. In Czechoslovakia, Czechs and Slovaks will serve side-by-side, and a Czech may find himself stationed in Slovakia, while a Slovak may be stationed in Bohemia or Moravia. In the Soviet Union, although Russian is the language officialy used in the Soviet armed forces, Russian-speaking troops may come into contact with either Byelorussian or Ukrainian, should they serve in these republics. Moreover, Warsaw Pact maneoveurs may involve Czechoslovak or Russian troops being stationed in other Slavic-speaking Warsaw Pact countries.

Of importance here is the fact that males may have more of an opportunity to come into contact with other Slavs while in Europe. This may not only improve their comprehension of a certain Slavic language, but also may give them an opportunity to develop some oral skills in

another Slavic language.

Secondly, upon arrival in Canada, there may be a tendency for some wives to stay at home to look after young children while their husbands go to work. Unlike in Eastern Europe, where women can work while leaving their young children in kindergartens, the availibility of day-care centers in Canada has been somewhat lacking. Thus, with both day-care centers and babysitters unavailable, women are forced to stay at home. As a result, they do not learn English as quickly as their husbands, for they enter into fewer language-conflict situations.

ii. Age - Age serves two functions in the study for it is both a limit (an immigrant had to have been at least sixteen years of age upon arrival in Canada to be included in the study) and a variable. Although the subjects are older than the normally accepted optimum age for learning a new language (Weinreich 1953:76) - in this case English - it was felt that it might be interesting to see if age does affect language usage. For example, young people might tend to be more active in the acculturation process to pursue careers and/or to continue their education, and consequently use English more than their older compatriots.

iii. Ethnic Origin - As is the case with the age variable, ethnic origin serves as both a limit and variable in the study. It was expected that this variable would have considerable influence in determining language usage.

The chief feature of this variable is that it may assist in establishing both the number and nature of language contacts with other Slavs in Europe and Canada. See b) iii. and c) i..

b) Pre-migration Variables

i. Level of Education upon arrival in Canada and ii. Knowledge of English upon Arrival in Canada - These two variables can be seen as going hand-in-hand to some extent, for it was hypothesized that the higher the education level of an immigrant arriving to Edmonton, the more likely he would be to enter into language-contact situations demanding a greater facility in English.

The first reason underlying this hypothesis is that a person studying or teaching at a university, or technical institute may require a knowledge of English to work in his field. Perhaps he has to read journals in English, or maybe even come into contact - be it personally or through correspondence - with scholars or businessmen who know only English. A person who is not as well educated may have studied some English in school (if any at all), but since he has no need to use it, he is likely to forget much of what he did learn.

The second reason for proposing that education level determines language usage, and specifically that higher education results in more usage of English, concerns the type of work likely to be sought by a well-educated immigrant. Such immigrants - be they doctors, engineers,

teachers - will wish to find work in their professions. If they are students, they may wish to continue their education at a university or technical institute. In order to do so, an immigrant's knowledge of English must be considerable, not only to work or study, but also to pass any qualification exams or undergo re-training. A knowledge of English is more essential to a professional's work than it is to a dishwasher's.

A well-educated immigrant may know English considerably better than a less educated immigrant not only upon arrival in Canada, but even after several years of residence here. It is suggested that the well-educated immigrant will enter into more complex language-contact situations with English-speaking Canadians.

iii. Contact with Other Slavs in Europe - One of the two premises upon which this study is based is the mutual comprehensibility of the Slavic languages. As discussed earlier, this "mutual comprehensibility" is a highly relative term, dependent not only upon the strictly linguistic differences between any given Slavic languages, but also upon language attitudes and certain psycholinguistic factors. All of these however apply to an "initial contact situation". They do not take into account how mutual comprehensibility increases with an increase in the frequency of contact between speakers of two Slavic languages. Such increased contact may result in speakers still being able to speak their native tongues in a contact

situation, yet nonetheless able to understand words or expressions in the other Slavic language which differ from their own.

As far as the Slavs in the present study are concerned, we find that many Czechs and Slovaks have had some, if not considerable, contact with each other while still in Czechoslovakia. In the armed forces, the mass-media, at universities, as co-workers and as tourists, Czechs and Slovaks tend to be in extremely close contact.

In addition, most Czechs and Slovaks, particularly those born after the Second World War, are required to study Russian in school. This has allowed them to understand and perhaps even speak Russian with any Russian speakers they may come into contact with. In fact, the writer is aware from his own personal experience that Russian may serve as a "lingua franca" for Czechs and Slovaks speaking with either non-Slavic peoples (such as Hungarians) or with Slavs whom they have difficulty understanding (Bulgarians).

Czechs and Slovaks are also able to travel to other countries in Eastern Europe quite easily, especially when compared to Soviet citizens. Czechs and Slovaks travel to Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and even Yugoslavia (a country which, for many recent Czech and Slovak immigrants, has been the "gateway to the West").

As discussed earlier, a considerable number of Soviet citizens leaving the Soviet Union are Russian-speaking Jews who lived in republics other than the RSFSR. Those who lived

in Byelorussia or the Ukraine understand, or perhaps even speak, the language of the given republic. At schools in these republics, children are required to study Byelorussian or Ukrainian. On the other hand, Russian-speaking immigrants from the RSFSR, or from any other Soviet republics, would not have the same number of contacts with other Slavs as would their counterparts in the Ukraine or Byelorussia.

c. Post-migration Variables

i. Contact with Other Slavs in Canada - This variable is divided into two parts: a) contact with members of the same Slavic group, and b) contact with members of other Slavic groups.

a) Contact with members of the same Slavic group - This may well be the most important factor in determining the language usage of any immigrant. For example, an immigrant who works with members of his own Slavic group, meets with them socially, and attends ethnic community activities and church services in his native tongue is more likely to use his Slavic language than an immigrant who has little or no contact with members of his Slavic group.

Here, the concepts of language maintenance and language shift discussed earlier can be seen in action quite clearly. It is proposed that immigrants who come into regular contact with members of their own Slavic group will rate highly in language maintenance, and those who come into less frequent contact will rate highly in language shift.

Of course, it may be said that it is more than just contact with members of one's own Slavic group which aids in maintaining usage of the native tongue. After all, is not a person who participates regularly in ethnic community activities, attends church services in his Slavic language, and keeps or perhaps seeks out friends of the same ethnic background showing some desire to preserve or maintain ties with his cultural past? If so, it would seem to follow that he would try to maintain a very integral part of his cultural past - the language. Thus, one could conclude that such a person is already "predisposed" to maintaining his language.

At the other end of the spectrum is the immigrant who has little contact with his fellow ethnics. Perhaps we could conclude that such a person is expressing a desire to break off contact with both his fellow ethnics and his cultural past. Hence, such a person would be predisposed to language shift.

While there is definitely something to be said for this view that a person's predisposition determines contacts with fellow Slavs and perhaps reflects his attitude to his cultural past and language, the writer believes the situation is much more complex. It may be that an immigrant who has little contact with his fellow Slavs is not making a conscious effort to keep himself removed from the ethnic community; rather, he may just never have had a chance to work with or meet socially members of his Slavic group. On

the other hand, an individual who is in close contact with members of his ethnic group may use English with some of them, or have a Canadian-born spouse and use only English at home.

b) Contacts with members of other Slavic groups - This variable may be conditioned by one of the personal variables (ethnic origin) and two pre-migration variables (education and contact with other Slavs in Europe). It should be said that with both Ukrainians and Poles constituting such a large segment of Edmonton's population (16.9%)[18], the chances of a Czech, Slovak, or Russian coming into contact with members of these groups - not to mention each other - is quite high.

The question of course, is what languages are used when Czechs, Slovaks, or Russians do come into such contact. Here, past experience with other Slavs in Europe may have some effect. Czechs and Slovaks might easily overcome any initial language-contact problems with Poles if they have some familiarity - which need not be considerable - with Polish. Furthurmore, the fact that many Czechs and Slovaks have studied Russian may assist them in contact not only with Russians, but with Ukrainians as well.

Russian speakers meanwhile, possessing a similar culture and orthography to that of the Ukrainians, might be inclined to use Russian with Ukrainians. In addition, many

---

[18]According to the 1971 Canadian Census, 58,475 Edmontonians were of Ukrainian origin and 15,505 of Polish origin out of a total population of 437,450.

Russian-speakers from the Ukraine may be Russian-Ukrainian bilinguals, who could merely switch to Ukrainian when in contact with Ukrainians.

Up to this point in the discussion on contact with Slavs in Canada it may seem that we are dealing with the same situation as in Europe, i.e., each Slavic group speaks its own Slavic language or perhaps another Slavic language with other Slavs. The big difference in Canada however is the overriding influence of English, which serves as much more than a "lingua franca" between immigrant groups (as, say, Russian is for Slovak tourists visiting Hungary). English is the language spoken by the majority of Canadians, and as such it is the lifeline of English-speaking Canada. Without learning to speak English, an immigrant has little chance of adapting to, and functioning in, Canadian society. Therefore, when we speak of languages used between Slavs in Canada, we must remember that in any contact situation between two speakers of two given Slavic languages (or indeed between speakers of the same Slavic language) we must also contend with another linguistic entity - English.

ii. Length of Time in Canada - The importance of this variable in determining language usage should be fairly obvious, for it would seem to make sense that a newly arrived immigrant knowing little or no English would not have the same "alternatives" open to him that an immigrant has who migrated long ago. "Alternatives" in this context means the various languages an individual knows how to

speak. For example, a Soviet immigrant who has been in Canada five years has two languages - English and Russian - at his disposal. Thus, in contact situations, be they at work, social gatherings or wherever with members of his own or other Slavic groups, the possibility of either language being used by him exists.

A Soviet immigrant who has been here only five months however in all likelihood will not have the option of using either English or Russian open to him - at least, not to the same degree. As this immigrant's proficiency in English is still weak, he may well be more inclined to use Russian in contact with other Slavs.

iii. The study of English in Canada - The final variable considered in the study was whether or not the immigrant attended English language courses in Canada. It was felt that such courses would not only increase the facility of an immigrant in English, but would do so in a relatively short period of time (as opposed to the immigrant trying to learn English "on the street", which could take much longer). An increased knowledge of English which was obtained in a fairly short period of time would allow the immigrant to enter into more language-contact situations than an immigrant who had not taken English language courses.

It was hypothesized that immigrants who had attended English language courses would not use their native Slavic language as often as English.

The Design of the Questionnaire

The questionnaire was intended to be the primary instrument of measuring language usage in the study, and would therefore be a more detailed source of data than the interviews. The questions included in the questionnaire were to reflect various domains of language usage, variables in the study, roles in interlocution (i.e., speaker or listener), and inner domain differentiation.

All of the above have been discussed previously, save for "inner domain differentiation", which means that in a given domain there may be both intra-group and inter-group contact, a fact which must be taken into account. Indeed, in any given domain two or more languages may be used. For example, a Czech working with English-speaking Canadians may use English with them but Czech with Czech co-workers. It has been suggested that for such a domain a further breakdown takes place, so that we end up with "sub-domains". In this example, the work place would be the central domain, and the two group settings - English and Czech - would be the sub-domains.

Such differentiation within a domain has played a role in studies by Gross (1951) and Mackey (1962). However, as Fishman (1964b) has pointed out, their studies refer to "role-relations", that is, the position or status of a speaker in relation to another person or persons in interlocution, which may be as employer, father, lecturer, and so on. "Role-relations" do not exist in the present

study, and thus are not the basis for any questions in the questionnaire. The only roles in the study are the functions of a person engaged in conversation - that of speaker or listener. Questions were asked with these two roles in mind.

While role-relations as such are not included in the present study, sub-domains are. Questions were asked which would reflect the fact that in the same domain, Czechs, Slovaks, and Russians may speak only their native language with members of their own groups, but perhaps a different language - English or another Slavic language known to them - with members of other Slavic groups. Similarily, questions concerning the types of languages spoken to them by other Slavs in the same domain were also asked.

In a nutshell, one could say that in each domain there is a bifurcation of sorts, that is, languages used between members of the same Slavic group, and languages used between members of different Slavic groups.

The questionnaire also asked the subjects to rate on a scale of one to five various difficulties that they had encountered in adjusting to life in Canada. It was hoped that for each immigrant a picture could be obtained of how the problems surrounding his linguistic assimilation related to other aspects of his general assimilation.

The final point about the questionnaire is that it was translated into Czech, Slovak, and Russian. A questionnaire in English would be just as understandable to immigrants who arrived long ago, but the writer felt that more recent

immigrants might have difficulty understanding a detailed questionnaire in English. (The text of the questionnaire is printed in the appendix).

The Interviews

The purpose of the interviews was to discuss various aspects of assimilation - particulary those concerning linguistic assimilation - with the immigrants in the hope that any information not obtained through the questionnaires would become available. Interview questions would be questions concerning homesickness, feelings of acceptance or rejection by other Canadians, the availability of Canadian translators at Canadian embassies, the various media through which the immigrants learned English in Canada, and so on.

Essentially, the interview questions were meant to act as a sort of stimulus, getting the immigrant to relate his experiences and make comments and observations on his own assimilation process. As a result, pertinent information not covered by the questionnaire, or else a clearer explanation of why immigrants answered certain questionnaire items in the way they did, could be obtained.

The interviews would be given after the administration of the questionnaire, so that the writer could go through the completed questionnaire to clarify any discrepancies or ask related questions which came to mind.

IV. Results of the Study

The outline of the study carried out by the writer, along with the hypotheses upon which the study outline is based, was described in the last chapter. In this chapter, the writer will discuss 1) problems with the study from a statistical standpoint, 2) unexpected problems which appeared in the questionnaire, 3) results of the questionnaires, and 4) results of the interviews.

Statistical Problems With the Study

It was mentioned previously that the writer intended to administer questionnaires to 30 Czech immigrants, 30 Slovak immigrants, and 30 Russian immigrants. The writer managed to succeed in finding 30 Slovaks, but received questionnaires from only 28 Czechs and 26 Russians. Thus, the total number of immigrants in the study is 84, and not the originally intended 90.

It should be noted that while all the Slovaks and all but one of the Czechs[1] were in fact "ethnic" Slovaks and Czechs, the ethnic status of the "Russians" is more difficult to classify. Ethnically, virtually all of the "Russian" immigrants in the study are not of "Russian", but rather "Jewish", origin. Indeed, this was expected by the writer, as Soviet emigration policies are more lax for the

---

[1] The Czech exception was a Polish woman who had moved to Czechoslovakia in her late teens, married a Czech, and lived there for eight years before emigrating to Canada. She speaks excellent Czech, and speaks only Czech at home with her husband.

Jewish minority in the Soviet Union than they are for ethnic Russians. In addition, many of the Soviet immigrants in the study did not come from the RSFSR. A considerable number were from the Ukraine, some from Byelorussia, and several from Armenia.

Despite their Jewish ethnic background and the variety of places outside the RSFSR that they came from, these Soviet immigrants are indeed "Russians" linguistically. All considered Russian their native language, although some considered themselves native in other languages together with Russian, such as Ukrainian, and much less frequently Yiddish or German. Of the Soviet immigrants who claimed to be bilingual, Russian was the language they used predominantly while still in the USSR.''

Reference to the Soviet immigrants in this study as "Russians" is meant to be taken in a "linguistic", as opposed to an "ethnic", context. As such, the Soviet immigrants are more properly described as "Russian-speaking" immigrants in the study, and not "Russian" immigrants *per se*.

Aside from the problem of the immigrants in the study not being a truly random sample - which was discussed in the last chapter - other statistical weaknesses in the study came to light when the collected data were being analyzed.

'' One of the Soviet immigrants rather succinctly described his ethnic status in the USSR this way: "I was a Russian-speaking Jew living in the Ukraine".

One weakness was that, owing to the small number of respondents in the study, many of the cross-tabulation tables contained a considerable number of cell frequencies with less than the expected cell value of 5. This was true not only of the cross-tabulations of variables within each Slavic group (involving 30, 28, and 26 respondents), but also of the combined Slavic group table, where the three Slavic groups were compared with one another (a total of 84 subjects).

Another factor contributing to the low cell frequencies was the number of possible replies to some questions - often as high as five - which resulted in the small number of respondents being even more finely dissected.

Thus, in trying to analyze the significance of the relationship between two variables, [1] or even in merely looking at the statistics in a given table, the percentage given for a category may be misleading when compared to the absolute value of the replies in that category. For example, in analyzing what languages were used by the Russian

---

[1] "Significance" here refers to "level of significance", i.e., the probability of obtaining a result which contradicts that of the original hypothesis. For example, the relationship between two given variables may have a level of significance of .05. This means that if the test were repeated 100 times, in only five cases would the results contradict our findings. It follows that the lower the probability of obtaining a result contradictory to our hypothesis, the higher the level of significance of the relationship between two variables.

By convention, a hypothesis is said to be very significant if the level of significance is .05 or less. A level of significance between .05 and .10 shows some noteable significance in the cross-tabulation of two given variables.

immigrants in the work place, it was found that 69.2% of the recent Russian immigrants (those immigrants who had been in Canada five years or less) never used another Slavic language at work, while only 33.3% of the immigrants who had been here longer made the same claim. Yet, in terms of absolute values, the latter figure is only 1/3. As a result of this, the writer will supply absolute values for every result of the questionnaire cited in this chapter, along with percentages, when the absolute value in a given category is significantly large.

Given the statistical weaknesses of the study, it must be remembered that the study was intended to serve as a pilot project, and as such cannot offer any firm conclusions on the populations studied. Nonetheless, some interesting comparisons and contrasts can be made within - and between - the groups involved in the study.

Unexpected Problems With the Questionnaire

Owing to difficulties which were not foreseen by the writer in compiling the questionnaire, some questions concerning language usage in various domains had to be omitted in the analysis of the data. One such question was the one concerning attendance at religious services in one's native language. The writer discovered that while the Slovaks are able to attend religious services in Slovak (which are offered twice a month), there are no religious services in Czech or Russian. Consequently, the questions on

attendance at religious services in one's native language are not applicable to the Czechs and Russians. This question was omitted in the final analysis.

A similar situation occured with the question on attendance at ethnic community events. Unfortunately, the ethnic-cultural life of the three groups studied is very poorly maintained. It was found that perhaps with the exception of a couple of social gatherings a year, none of the groups held any ethnic community events whatsoever. Indeed, the writer's impression was that while the sense of *ethnic consciousness* might be considerable - particularly amongst the Czechs and Slovaks - the sense of *ethnic community consciousness* was poorly developed, which can be seen by the absence of ethnic community events, clubs, and associations which are found amongst many of Edmonton's other Slavic groups, such as the Ukrainians, Poles, and even smaller groups like the Croats and Slovenes. Some of the Soviet immigrants do attend ethnic events, but these are events of Edmonton's Jewish community.''

Other questions which caused some difficulties were those involving language usage at the Canada Manpower and Immigration office. Not all of the immigrants had been at Manpower and Immigration, and of those who had, many had been there only once. Some of the immigrants had an

---

'' Since the completion of the study, some members of Edmonton's Soviet-Jewish community have formed a cultural organization called "Shalom". In addition, members of the Czech community have begun forming a Czechoslovak arts and sciences society ("Československá společnost pro vědy a umnění").

interpreter with them, which made the analysis of language usage in this domain rather complicated. With the assistance of an interpreter, an immigrant would have been able to use his language while the immigration councillor used English, and yet the immigrant would claim that he understood everything perfectly that was explained to him, and that he in turn was understood perfectly. Owing to the complexities involved here, this question was also removed from the final analysis.

Another series of questions which were not analyzed concerned "street language" (i.e., how often English was used in public with members of the same or different Slavic groups). Owing to some ambiguities in the wording of these questions, the answers reflected some confusion on the part of the respondents. Consequently, "street speech" was not analyzed.

Results of the Questionnaire

Ethnic Origin

Of the "personal variables" (age, sex, and ethnic origin), the most interesting results were obtained from the variable "ethnic origin". There proved to be considerable significance in the relationship between this variable and some of the others, and even when the statistical difference is not particularly great, the statistics themselves are interesting to look at.

Knowledge of English upon Arrival

When "ethnic origin" was cross-tabulated with "knowledge of English upon arrival to Canada", some significance (.1008) was seen in the differences between groups (Section A, graph 1).[20] 24/30 Slovaks (80.0) in the study knew no English at all upon arrival to Canada, compared with 17/28 Czechs (60.7) and only 11/26 Russians (42.3). In this category, the Slovaks are well above the average of 61.9%, and the Russians well below it. Most of the results in this cross-tabulation are skewed towards the negative end of the spectrum, as 52/84 (61.4) of the immigrants knew no English at all, and an additional 21/84 (25.0) knew English poorly. In the "knew English poorly" category, the proportions are reversed, relative to the average. 3/30 Slovaks (10.0) and 11/26 Russians (42.3) knew English poorly, while the Czech scores (7/28 or 25.0) remain the same (or almost the same) as average.

Only 3/30 Slovaks (10.0), 4/28 Czechs (14.2), and 4/26 Russians (15.3) claimed to know English "adequately" or "well".

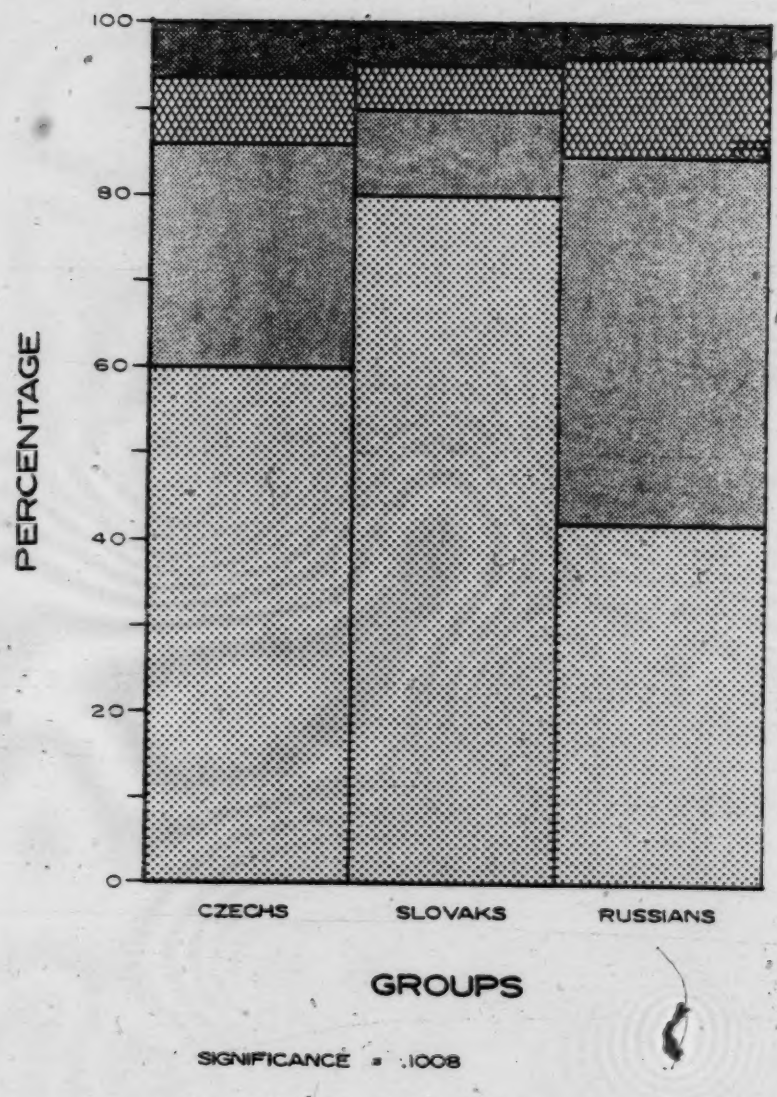
One could conclude from this data that the Russian immigrants in the study were better prepared linguistically to adjust to life in Canada, as over half (15/26 or 57.7) had at least some knowledge of

---

[20]In graph 1, the codes - from bottom to top - are 1) none, 2) poor, 3) adequate, and 4) good.

SECTION A

1. Knowledge of English Upon Arrival to Canada



SIGNIFICANCE = .1008

English, compared with 6/30 Slovaks (20.0) and 11/28 Czechs (39.3).

This could be explained by the fact that many of the Czechs (19/28 or 67.9) and Slovaks (14/30 or 46.7) emigrated to Canada on fairly short notice (i.e., following the Soviet intervention into Czechoslovakia in August 1968). The Russian immigrants on the other hand were planning to emigrate for some time, and had the opportunity to prepare themselves (albeit perhaps only slightly) from a linguistic standpoint.

Arrival with Friends or Relatives

Most of the immigrants (73/84 or 86.9) arrived in Canada with friends or relatives, and the significance of the difference between groups is .0507. All of the Russians (26/26) came to Canada in family groups. 25/30 Slovaks (83.3) did not come alone, and slightly fewer Czechs (22/28 or 78.6) came with friends or relatives. Of the five Slovaks who came alone, four were male, and of the six Czechs who came alone, five were male. Both females who came alone to Canada joined their husbands who were already here. Only 1/74 (or 1.4) immigrants (a Russian male) did not continue to stay with the people whom he came with.

A small minority of immigrants (10/89 or 11.9) stayed upon arrival with friends or relatives

already living in Edmonton. A larger number of Slovaks (6/30 or 20.0) than Czechs (2/28 or 7.1) and Russians (2/26 or 7.7) stayed with family or friends. For eight of these ten immigrants the language used at their friends' or relatives' homes was exclusively their native Slavic tongue, while 2/10 (both Slovaks) said that the native Slavic language was used often.

Knowledge of Other Slavic Languages before Arrival

With the exception of three Russian females, all the immigrants in the study claimed to be able to understand another Slavic language before coming to Canada. Perhaps even more interesting is the fact that 69/84 questionnaire respondents (82.1) claimed to speak another language before leaving Europe. The statistical difference between groups is significant (.0439), as a higher number of Czechs (27/28 or 96.4) than Slovaks (25/30 or 83.3) and Russians (17/26 or 65.4) reported being able to speak another Slavic language. The high percentage of Czechs and Slovaks claiming to speak another Slavic language should not be considered surprising, since all but two Slovak males - one who came to Canada in 1948 and the other in 1950 - had had language training in Russian. The four remaining Czechs and Slovaks who were unable to speak Russian said so because they hadn't had anything to do with the Russian language

for years, and had forgotten what they knew.

Many Slovaks said that they could speak Czech, and many Czechs claimed to speak Slovak, but in the opinion of the writer, most Slovaks would probably mix a few words of Czech into their Slovak and vice-versa - and then say that they speak each other's language. Although fewer Russians said they spoke another Slavic language, the writer got the impression that the Russian-speaking immigrants in the study who claimed to speak another Slavic tongue were more truly bilingual than the Czechs and Slovaks making the same claim. Many of the Soviet immigrants came from the Ukraine, where for them Russian was the language used at home, often in public (particularly in the larger metropolitan centers), and often - if not always - at school. In spite of this, the frequency of Russian language usage in the Ukraine is not the same that it is in Moscow. The Soviet immigrants from the Ukraine had studied Ukrainian at school, came into contact with it in the mass media, and met Ukrainian speakers at work, school, and socially. Although the same claim could be made to some degree of Czechs and Slovaks in Czechoslovakia, it appears that the similarity between Czech and Slovak makes learning each other's language seem almost unnecessary. Given that the kinship between Russian and Ukrainian is not as

close as the one between Czech and Slovak, a Russian trying to speak Ukrainian will have to do more than simply mix a few Ukrainian words with his Russian.

Contact with Other Slavs in Europe

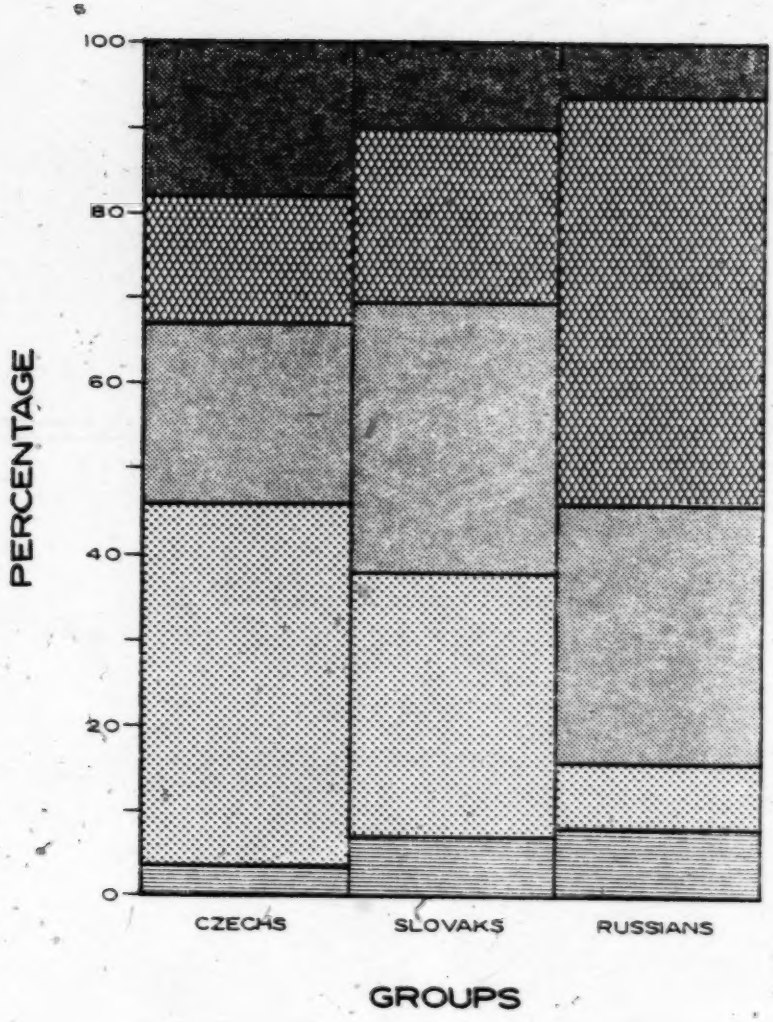
Very few of the immigrants had not come into contact with other Slavs in Europe (graph 2).[2] According to the data, the Russians came into more frequent contact with other Slavs. 14/26 Russians (53.9) met other Slavs often or always, as opposed to 9/29 or 31.0% of the Slovaks (one Slovak did not respond) and 9/28 or 32.2% of the Czechs. Conversely, 9/29 Slovaks (31.0) and 12/28 Czechs (42.9) noted that they rarely came into contact with other Slavs, while only 2/26 Russians (7.7) made the same claim.

It is noteworthy however, that while the Russians came into more frequent contact with other Slavs than did the Czechs and Slovaks, the diversity of their contacts was not as great. The Russians came into contact almost exclusively with Ukrainians and Byelorussians, while the Czechs and Slovaks met Poles, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Russians, and even Bulgarians. This is probably due to the less stringent restrictions on foreign travel placed on

---

[2] For most of the graphs in this section, the code - from bottom to top - is 1) never, 2) rarely, 3) sometimes, 4) often, and 5) always. The exceptions are graphs 3, 5, 10, and 12, which are not frequency graphs.

2. Frequency of Contact with Other Slavs in Europe



SIGNIFICANCE = .0760

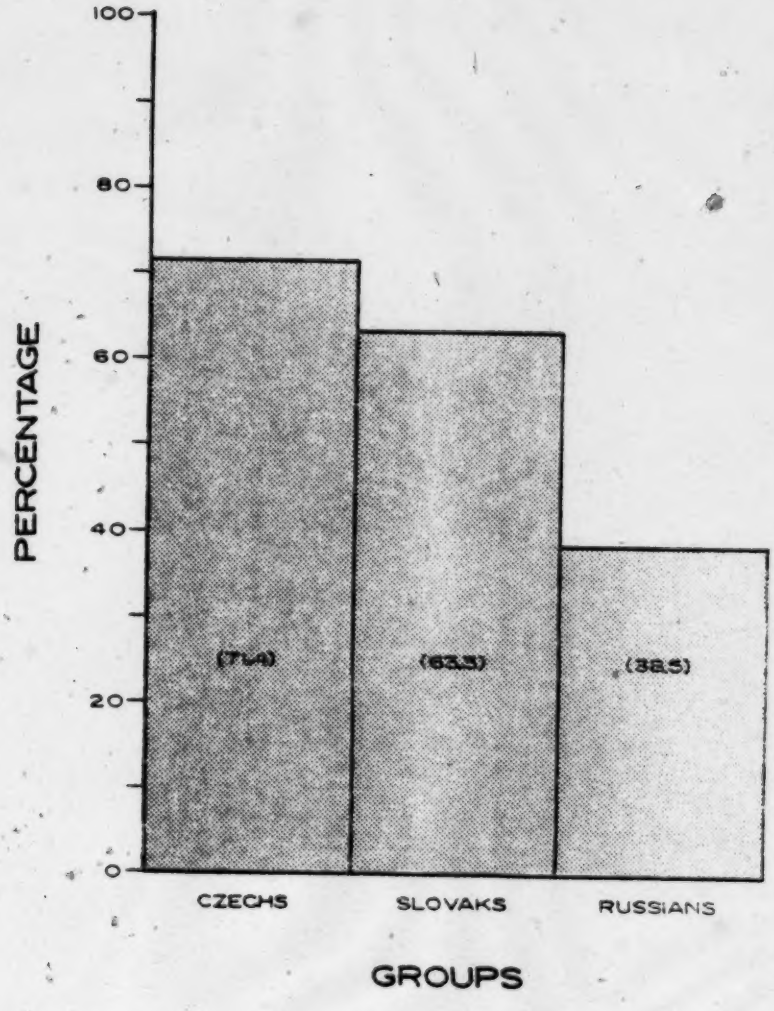
Czechoslovak citizens.

Language Usage in the Workplace

There was a significant difference (.0386) between the three groups studied with regard to having worked with members of the same Slavic group in Canada (graph 3). Of the 84 respondents, 49 (or 58.3) said that they had worked with members of their own Slavic group since immigrating. Only a small number of the Russians (10/26 or 38.5) have worked with other Russians. A larger number of Slovaks (19/30 or 63.3) have worked with other Slovaks, and an even higher number of Czechs have with other Czechs (20/28 or 71.4)

It could be argued that since most of the Czechs and Slovaks have been in Canada longer than the Russians, it is not surprising that more of them have worked with members of their own respective groups. Yet, when one compares the figures for those immigrants in the study who have been in Canada for five years or less - which consists of 12/30 Slovaks (40.0), 7/28 Czechs (25.0), and 22/26 Russians (84.6) - the ranking of the groups is the same. Indeed, the Russians are found again to be well below the five-year group average of 48.5%. 8/22 Russians (36.4) have worked with other Russians, as compared to 7/21 Slovaks (58.3) and 5/7 Czechs (71.4) who worked with members of their own groups.

3. Percentage of Slavs Who Have Worked With Members of their Own Group in Canada



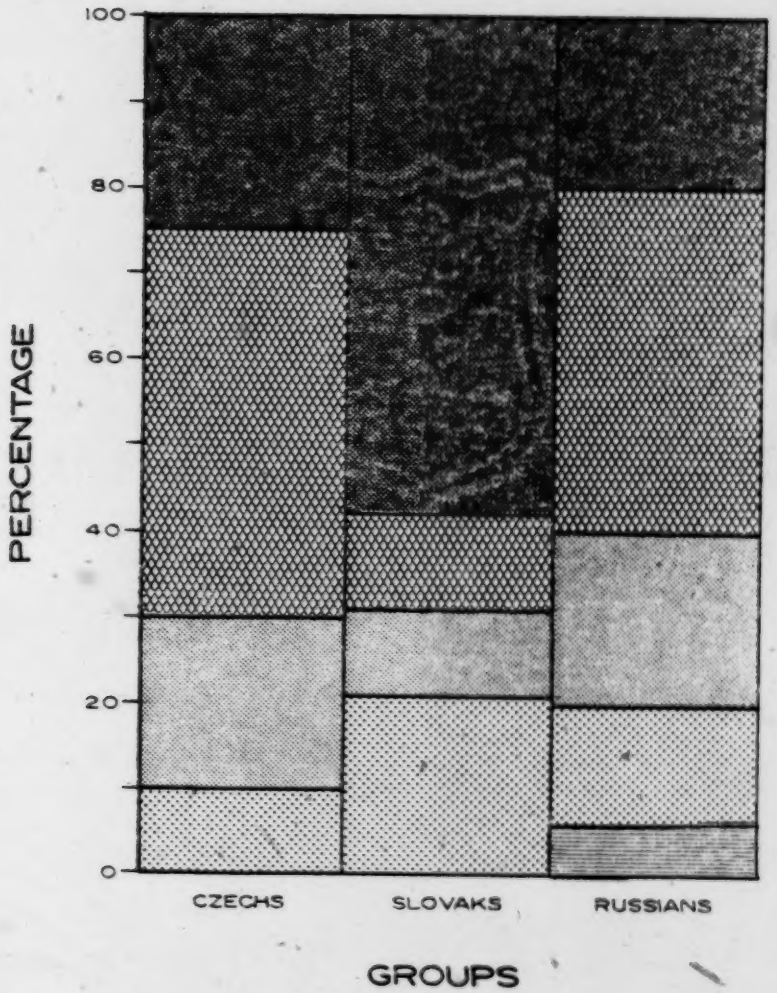
SIGNIFICANCE = .0386

Furthermore, not only is the ranking the same in both the total immigrant group and the five-year or less group, but the percentage distributions are almost identical.

As far as usage of the native Slavic tongue with members of one's own Slavic group in the workplace is concerned (graph 4), there is no noteworthy significant difference between the groups (.2211). Nonetheless, mention of the pure statistics may be of some interest. Of those Slavs in the study who work or have worked with members of the same Slavic language group, virtually all (18/19 or 94.7 of the Slovaks, 20/20 Czechs, and 9/10 Russians) will use their native language to some degree, and, according to the frequencies reported by the immigrants, most will use it to a considerable degree. Indeed, 33/49 (67.3) of the immigrants said that they use their mother tongue often or always with members of the same Slavic group at work.

On the other hand, only 2/49 or 4.1% (consisting of one Slovak and one Russian) claimed never to speak their Slavic language at work, and 6/49 or 12.2% (consisting of three Slovaks, two Czechs, and one Russian) do so only rarely. 11/19 Slovaks (57.9) will use Slovak exclusively with other Slovaks at work, compared with 5/20 Czechs and 2/10 Russians who made the same claim. However,

4. Percentage of Slavs Who Speak Their Slavic Language with Members of the Same Slavic Group*



SIGNIFICANCE = .2211

while only 2/19 Slovaks (10.5) would use Slovak often in this domain, 9/20 Czechs (45.0) and 4/10 Russians reported doing likewise.

One would expect these figures to be higher amongst immigrants who have been here five years or less. This does not prove to be the case. Only a small number of the more recent immigrants (20/41 or 48.8) have worked with members of their own Slavic group. Of these 20 individuals, 14 (70.0) will use their mother tongue often or always (compared with 67.3 of the total group). This group is comprised of 5/7 Slovaks (71.4), 4/5 Czechs (80.0), and 5/8 Russians (62.5).

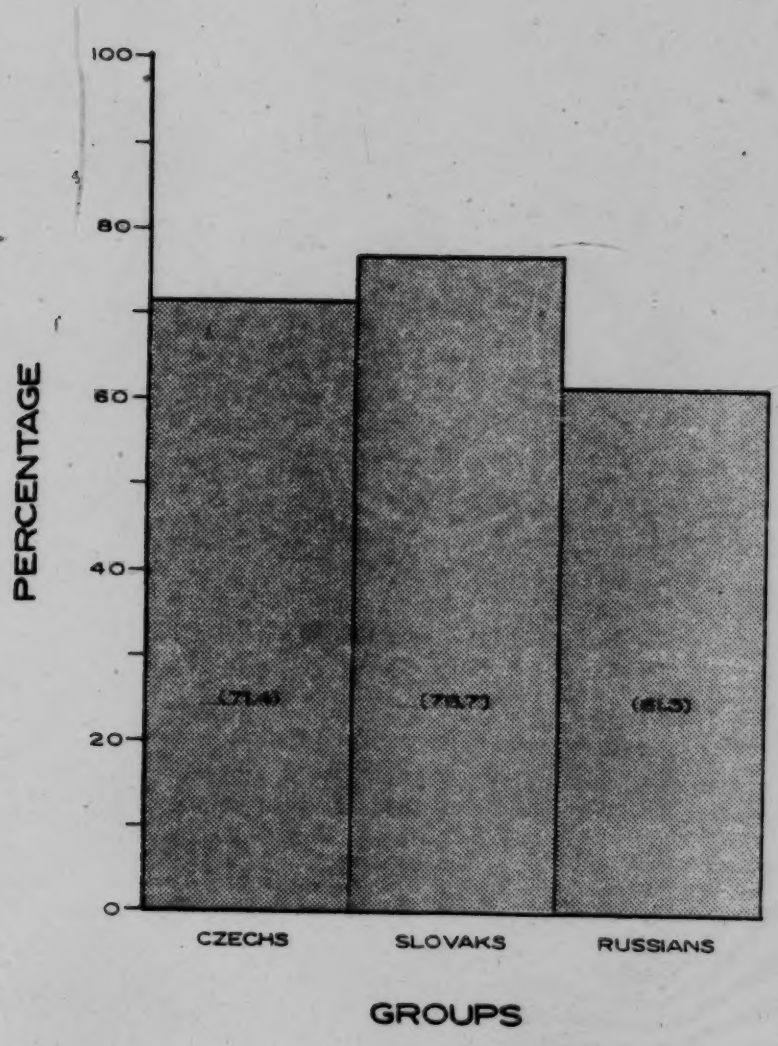
It should be mentioned here that based on information from the interviews, an important factor determining which language (English/Slavic) would be used, be it in the work place or social setting, is the presence of an English-speaking person. Many immigrants considered it rude to speak their native tongue with someone when there was a person present who cannot understand it. In one interview, a Czech male noted that socially or at work he would always use Czech with a Czech or Slovak, and that he would speak "anglicky jen v přitomnosti Kanad'anu" ("English only in the presence of Canadians"). Thus, it may well prove to be that in order to determine language usage between various Slavic speakers, one

has to take into account not only the attitudes or preferences of the Slavic speakers concerning which language to use, but also the absence or presence of non-Slavic speakers.

In the preceeding chapter, the writer mentioned that in terms of sheer probability, he felt there would be a greater chance of the immigrants working with members of other Slavic groups than with members of their own groups. Such proved to be the case with the immigrants in the study, even though there was little significance in the differences between groups (graph 5). While 58.3% (49/84) of the Slavs in the study work or have worked with members of their own Slavic language group, 70.2% (59/84) have worked with members of other Slavic groups. The same holds true for the more recent immigrants - those who have been here five years or less - as well. 48.8% (20/41) of these immigrants have worked with members of the same group, and 68.3% (28/41) have worked with members of other Slavic groups. A greater number of Slovaks (23/30 or 76.7) and Czechs (20/28 or 71.4) in the study have worked with other Slavs in Canada than have Russians (16/26 or 61.5). The Russians are well below the average of 70.2%, the Czechs and Slovaks well above it.

Again, the argument that most of the Russian-speaking immigrants in the study have been

5. Percentage of Slavs Who Worked with Members of Other Slavic Groups*

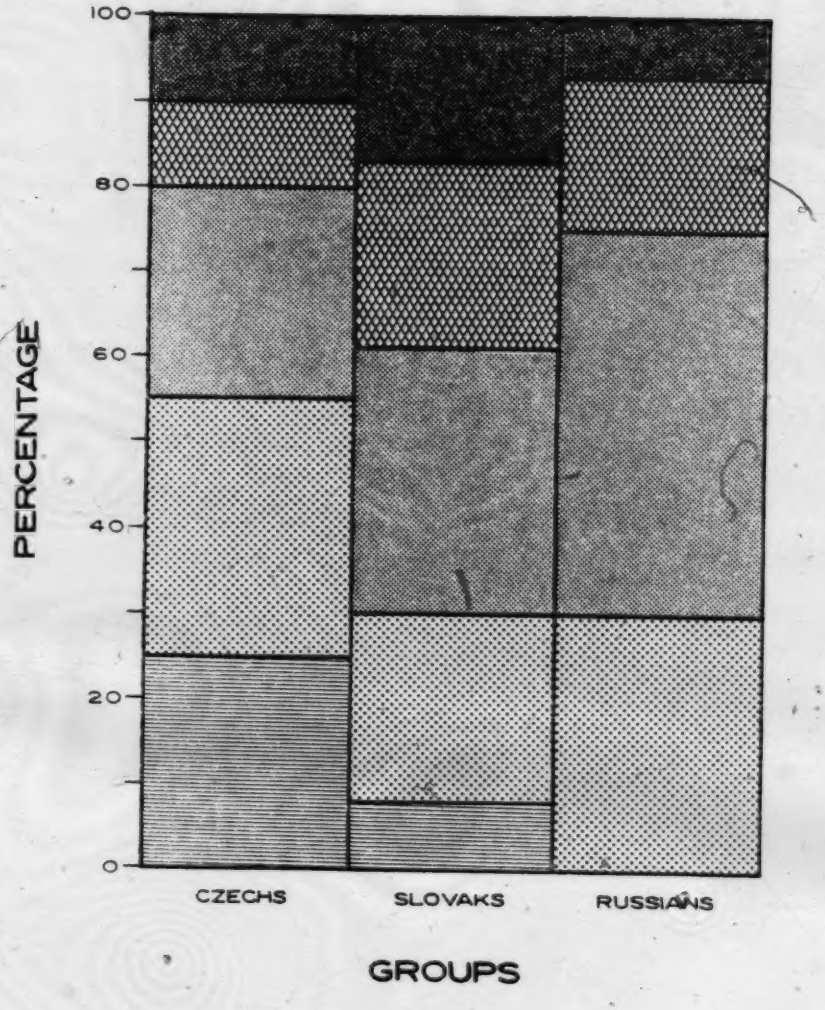


SIGNIFICANCE = .4599

in Canada a shorter period of time than the Czechs and Slovaks, and therefore have not had the opportunity to work with many Slavs, is not valid. In the five-year or less group, where 68.3% of the immigrants reported that they have worked with other Slavs, only 13/22 Russians (59.1) made this claim, compared with 10/12 Slovaks (83.3) and 5/7 Czechs (71.4).

The data show (graph 6) that when working with members of other Slavic language groups, the immigrants in the study would be less inclined to use their native Slavic language. Unfortunately, the significance here is not notable (.3056). 20.3% (12/59) of the immigrants in the study said that they would never use their native language with other Slavs at work, compared with only 4.1% (2/49) who said they would never use their native tongue with members of the same Slavic group at work. In fact, roughly half (30/59 or 50.5) of the questionnaire respondents would rarely or never use their Slavic tongue at work with other Slavs. There is however, considerable deviation from this average. The Czechs (11/20 or 55.0) are quite close to the combined averages of the "never" and "rarely" categories, but the Slovaks (7/23 or 30.4) are well below the average, and the Russians (12/26 or 75.0) are well above it.

6. Percentage of Slavs Who Use Their Native Slavic Language with Other Slavs at Work*

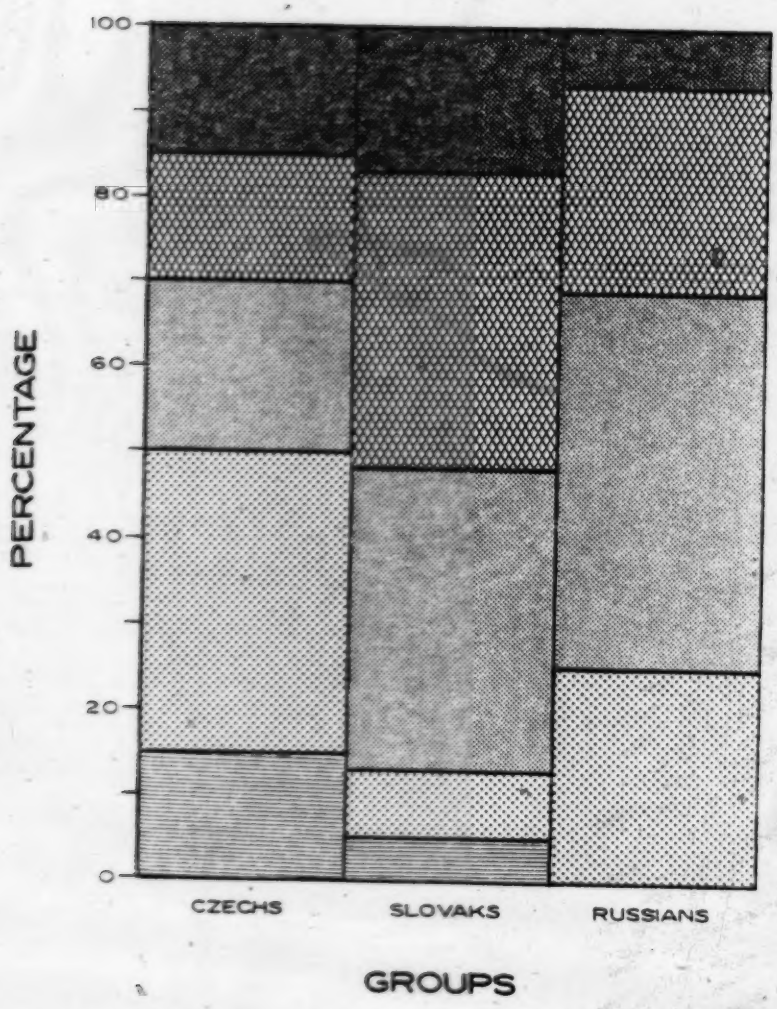


SIGNIFICANCE = .3056

In other words, the combined figures for the "rarely" and "never" categories show the proclivity for the Russians in the study to use their Slavic language less in this domain, and that of the Czechs and more so the Slovaks to use their languages with greater frequency. Indeed, at the other end of the scale only 1/16 (6.3) Russians who works with other Slavs reports using Russian often at work with other Slavs. No Russians mentioned using Russian "always" in this setting. Meanwhile, 6/20 Czechs (30.0) and 12/23 Slovaks (52.2) speak their respective languages "often" or "always" when in contact with other Slavs at work.

It appears that in the work place the immigrants were spoken to in *another* Slavic language (SL2) slightly more often than they spoke their Slavic language (SL1) with these other Slavs (graph 7). While 12/59 (20.3) claimed they never spoke SL1 with co-workers, fewer (8/59 or 13.6) said that other Slavic workers never spoke SL2 with them. An additional 16/59 (27.1) are spoken to in SL2 rarely. Of note here is not only the difference between the Slovaks and the other two groups - which is statistically significant (.0463) - but also the group ranking, which is the same as it is for the immigrants speaking SL1 with members of other Slavic groups. While 11/16 Russians (68.8) and 10/20 Czechs

7. Percentage of Slavic Immigrants Who Have Been Spoken to in Another Slavic Language at Work



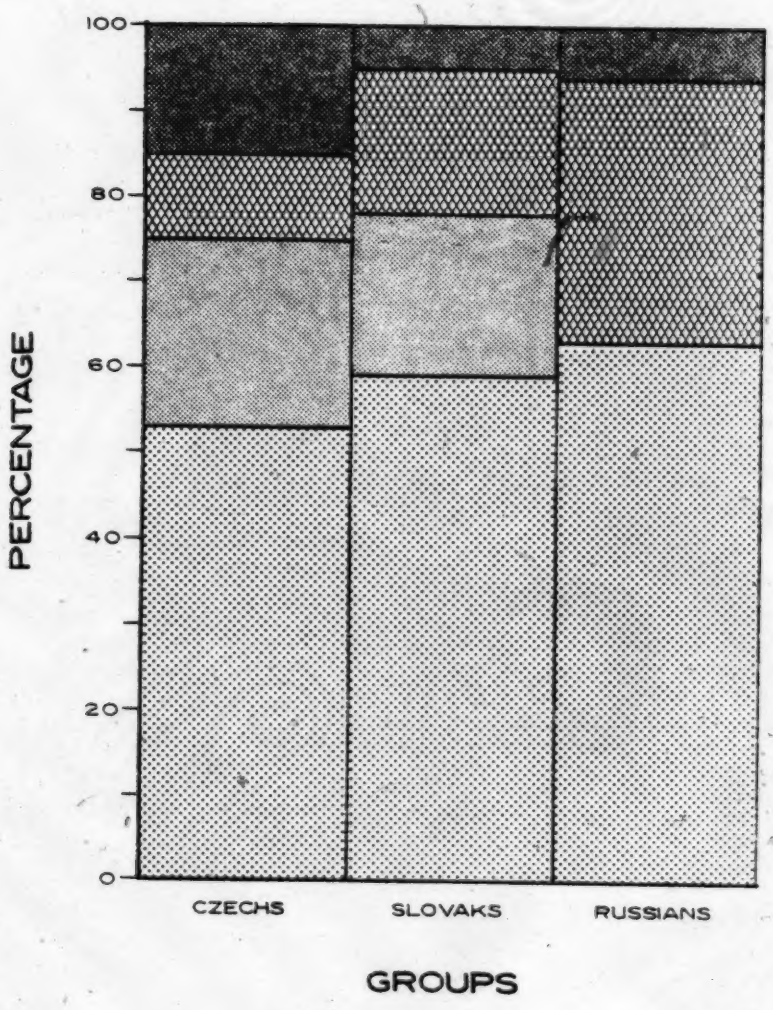
SIGNIFICANCE = .0463

(50.0) were spoken to in SL2 never or rarely, only 3/23 Slovaks (13.0) made the same claim.

At the other end of the scale, the figures are reversed. 12/23 Slovaks (52.8) are spoken to in SL2 often or always, compared with 6/20 Czechs (30.0) and only 1/16 Russians (6.3) reporting the same (the one Russian is in the "often" category).

Given that practically all of the Czechs and Slovaks have had language training in Russian, and that many of the Russian-speaking immigrants knew Ukrainian to some degree, the immigrants in the study were asked whether they used another Slavic language - be it the language of the people with whom they were speaking, or a more closely related language to the one of the people with whom they were speaking (for example, a Czech using Russian with a Ukrainian) - at work. There proved to be no real siginificant difference between groups (graph 8). Of the immigrants in the study, 58.6% or 34/58 (one Slovak did not answer this question) claimed they never spoke another Slavic language at work. None of the immigrants reported always using SL2 when in contact with other Slavs at work. 5/16 Russians (31.3) said they sometimes spoke SL2 (which in each case was Ukrainian), compared with 4/22 Slovaks (18.2) and 2/20 Czechs (10.0) who also said so. Only 1/22 Slovaks (4.5), 1/16 Russians (6.3),

8. Percentage of Slavs Who Have Spoken Another Slavic Language at Work*



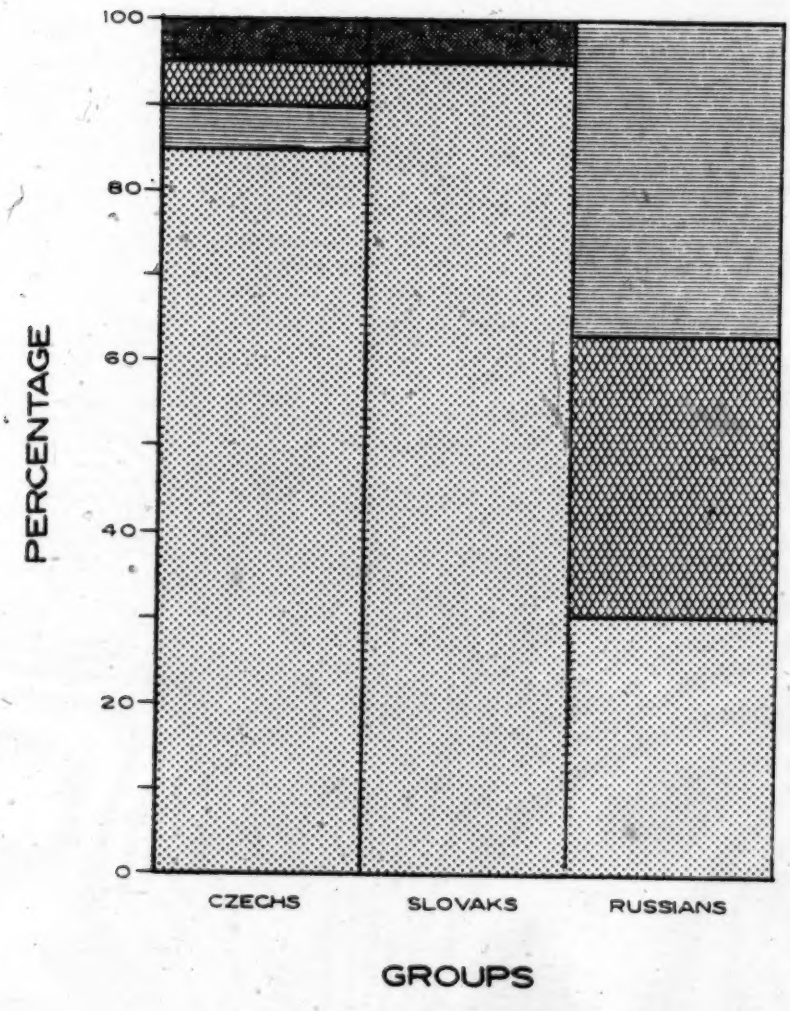
SIGNIFICANCE = .3437

and 3/20 Czechs (15.0) said they often spoke another Slavic language at work.

It seems peculiar that the Russians in the study on the one hand use their mother tongue less frequently at work than the Czechs and Slovaks, and that on the other hand thay are more inclined to use a different Slavic language with other Slavs at work than the other two groups are. However, as the Russians used Ukrainian in each instance, and as the Ukrainians are the largest Slavic group in Edmonton, it is not surprising that the Russians would come into some contact with the Ukrainians. It might be more appropriate to say, at least for some of the Soviet immigrants in the study, that the choice of language is not simply one of Russian/English, but rather one of Russian/Ukrainian/English.

Of those immigrants who worked with members of other Slavic groups, most (44/59 or 74.6) claimed they had never been spoken to in SL1 by these other Slavs. There is, however, considerable significance (.0001) in the difference between groups here (graph 9). 22/23 Slovaks (95.7) and 17/20 Czechs (85.0) said they have never been spoken to in Slovak and Czech respectively at work, but only 5/16 (31.3) Russians also said so. Another 5/16 Russians said they've been spoken to in Russian rarely at work. 6/16 (37.5) said they've had other Slavs speak

9. Percentage of Slavs Who Have Been Spoken to in their Native Slavic Language by Other Slavs at Work



SIGNIFICANCE = .0001

Russian to them sometimes. The differences between the Czechs and Slovaks on one side, and the Russians on the other, were not unexpected. Most non-Russian Slavs (be they Czech, Slovak, Polish, or Yugoslav) who were educated in Europe have studied Russian for years at school.[22] Few non-Czech and non-Slovak Slavs meanwhile (with the exception of Slavicists, translators, and embassy personnel) have had any formal training in Czech or Slovak.

To sum up the language usage of the immigrants in the work domain, it was found that 1) in this study, in terms of pure statistics, the Slovaks showed a greater tendency to speak SL1 - be it with other Slovaks, or with members of other Slavic groups - at work (the Russians on the other hand showed little tendency to do so), 2) the Russians in the study spoke SL2 more frequently in contact with other Slavs than did the Czechs and Slovaks, 3) as far as the "listener" feature is concerned, Czechs and more so Slovaks were spoken to in SL2 with greater frequency than were the Russians, and 4) the Russians were spoken to in SL1 much more frequently

---

[22] An interesting comment concerning this was made by a recent Czech immigrant who told the writer during an interview:

> In Czechoslovakia you study Russian just well enough to graduate from school. I never thought I'd need to use it again. But here in Canada I work with several Russians, and I speak Russian with them. I never thought I'd use Russian again, especially in Canada.

than the Czechs and Slovaks were.

One possible reason for the Russians being more inclined to use English with greater frequency at work than the Czechs and Slovaks (compare graphs 6 and 8) may be that the Russians were the best prepared linguistically upon arrival in Canada. Another reason may have to do with language attitudes, owing to the fact that the Russian-speaking immigrants did not come to Canada as political refugees, as did many Czechs and Slovaks. Perhaps the Czechs and Slovaks, owing to the circumstances in which many of them left Czechoslovakia, feel "torn away" from their homeland, and try to maintain some ties with it by using their mother tongue here. Yet a third reason may be one mentioned earlier, namely, the presence of non-Slavic speaking Canadians. It is possible that the Russian immigrants find themselves working with English speakers more frequently than do the Czechs and Slovaks. Needless to say, such conclusions, without any further testing, are merely speculative.

Knowledge of Other Slavic Languages in Canada

36.9% of the immigrants (31/84) claim to have come to understand a different Slavic language here in Canada. [33]

---

[33] As the writer had to rely on the claims of the immigrants

The high degree of significance (.0047) is due to the Slovak figures. 18/30 Slovaks (60.0) say they now understand a Slavic language which they didn't in Europe, while only 7/28 Czechs (25.0) and 6/26 Russians (23.1) made the same claim.

Why is it that so many more Slovaks claim to now understand another Slavic language? It seems that this development may have come about owing to language usage in the workplace. If one again takes a look at graphs 5 and 7, one can see that not only have more Slovaks worked with other Slavs than have Czechs and Russians, but also that a considerably higher number of Slovaks have been spoken to in another Slavic language at work. Further testng would be required to find out why this is so.

Only 6.1% or 5/82 immigrants (two Russians did not respond) reported being able to speak another Slavic language since coming to Canada. This total is made up of 2/30 Slovaks (6.7) and 3/28 Czechs (10.7). No Russians professed to have learned to speak another Slavic language since coming here.

Language Usage in the Social Setting

In the social setting there is some significance in the differences between groups when

---

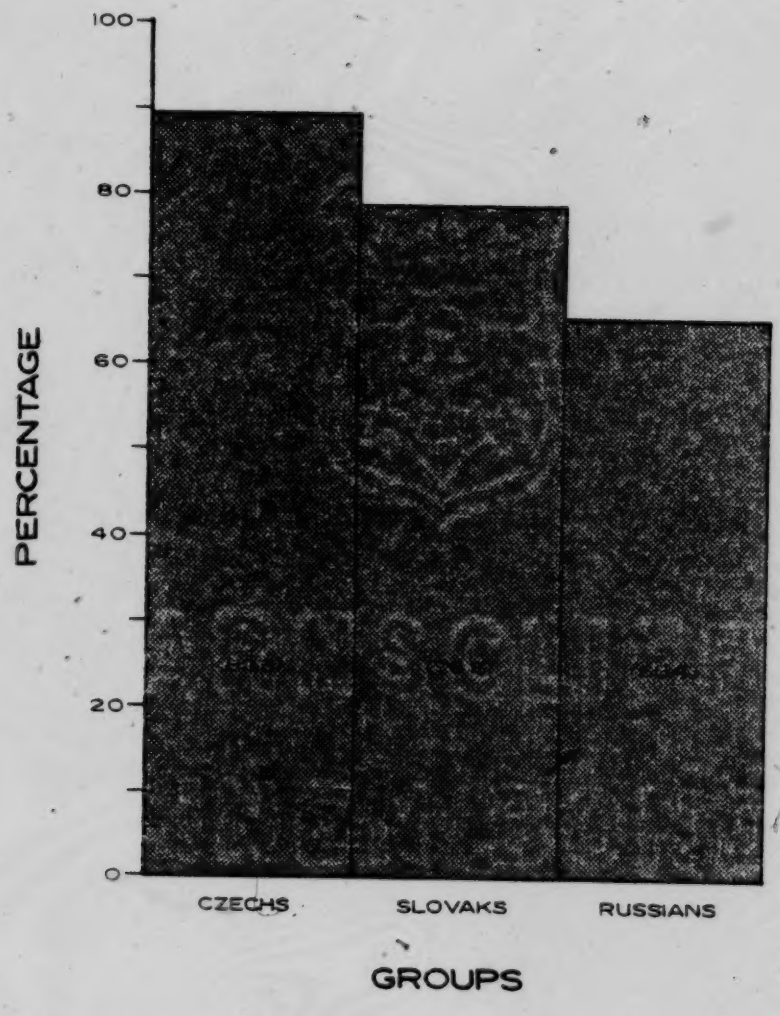
[23](cont'd)themselves whether they could understand and/or speak another Slavic language since coming to Canada, the data cited here - particularly in regard to speaking abilities - should be taken with some caution.

speakers of one Slavic group meet with speakers of another (graph 10). 78.5% or 65/83 immigrants (one Slovak did not reply) meet socially with members of other Slavic groups (significance = .1053). A higher proportion of Czechs (25/28 or 89.3) meet socially with other Slavs than do Slovaks (23/29 or 79.3) and especially Russians (17/26 or 65.4).

Even though the Russian-speaking immigrants meet socially less frequently with members of other Slavic groups, they show a markedly higher tendency to use English with these Slavs than do the Czechs and Slovaks (the significance of the difference is .0989; graph 11). Here, 73.4% (11/15) of the Russians will use English often or always, compared with 34.8% (8/23) of the Slovaks and 24.0% (6/25) of the Czechs. The reverse statistics can be seen at the other end of the scale, where 56.5% (13/23) of the Slovaks and 52.0% (13/25) of the Czechs will never or rarely use English with other Slavs whom they meet socially. None of the Russians reported "never" using English in this setting, and only 2/15 (13.0) said they used English rarely.

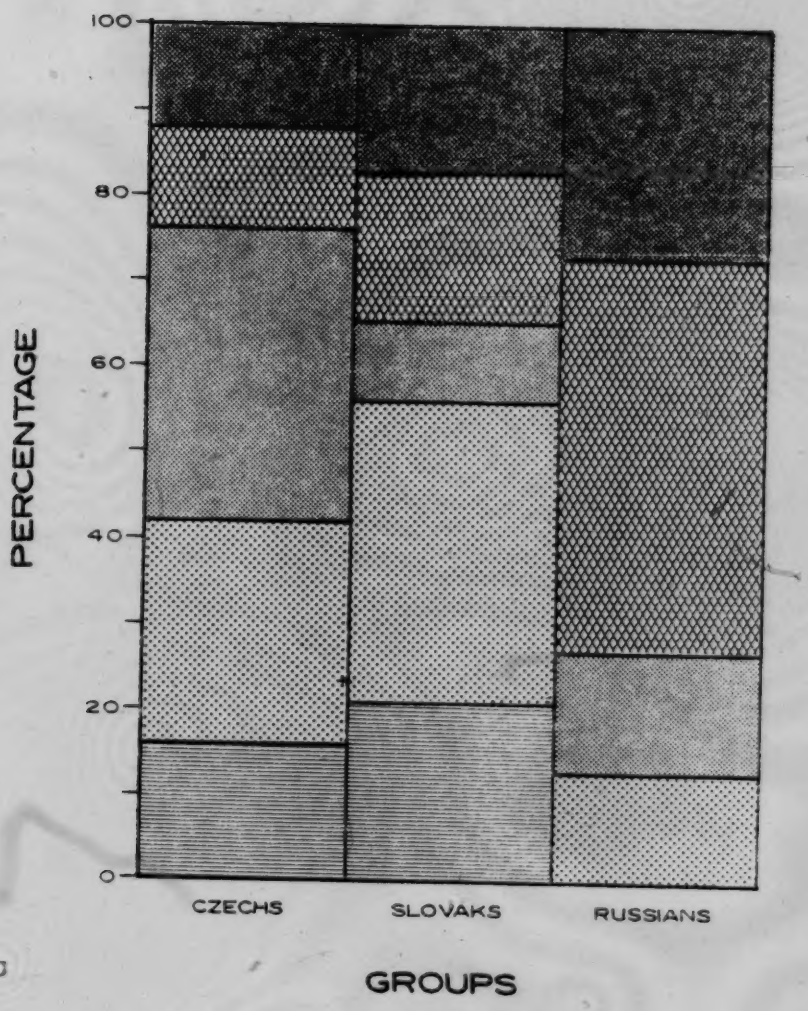
Virtually all of the immigrants in the study (81/84 or 96.4) meet socially with members of their own Slavic group (graph 12). Only 1/30 Slovaks (3.4) and 2/28 Czechs (7.1) do not do so. Each Russian reported that he or she meets socially with other

10. Percentage of Slavs Who Meet Socially with Members of Other Slavic Groups



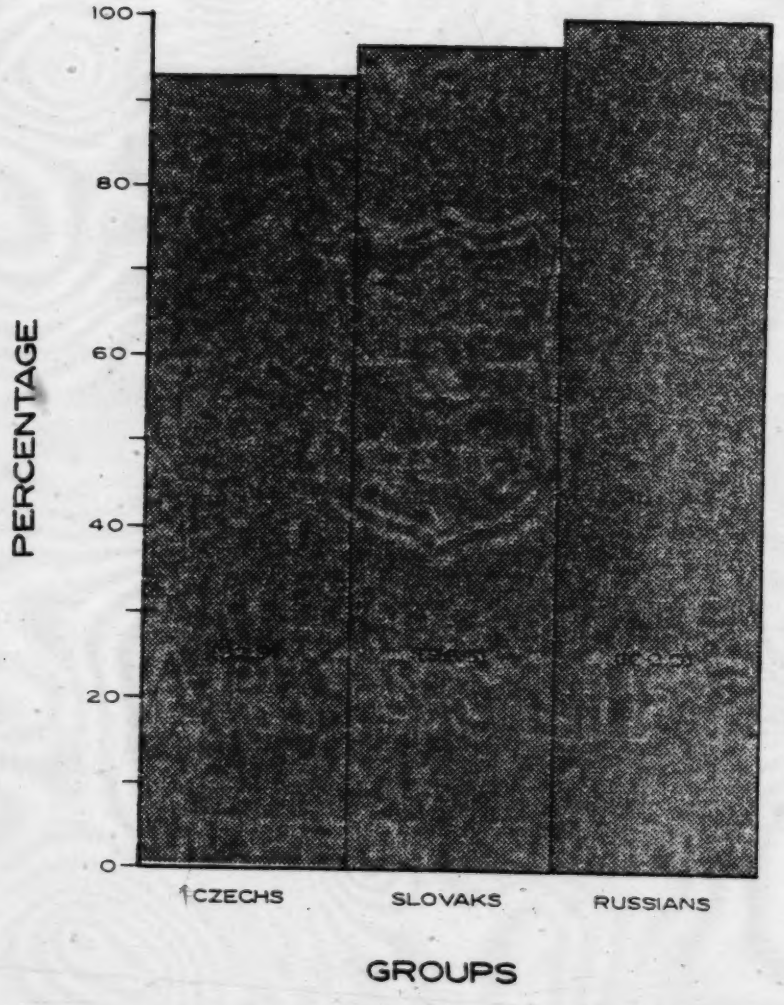
SIGNIFICANCE = .1053

11. Percentage of Slavs Who Use English with Other Slavs in the Social Setting



SIGNIFICANCE = .0989

12. Percentage of Slavs Who Meet Socially with Members of the Same Slavic Group*



SIGNIFICANCE = .3887

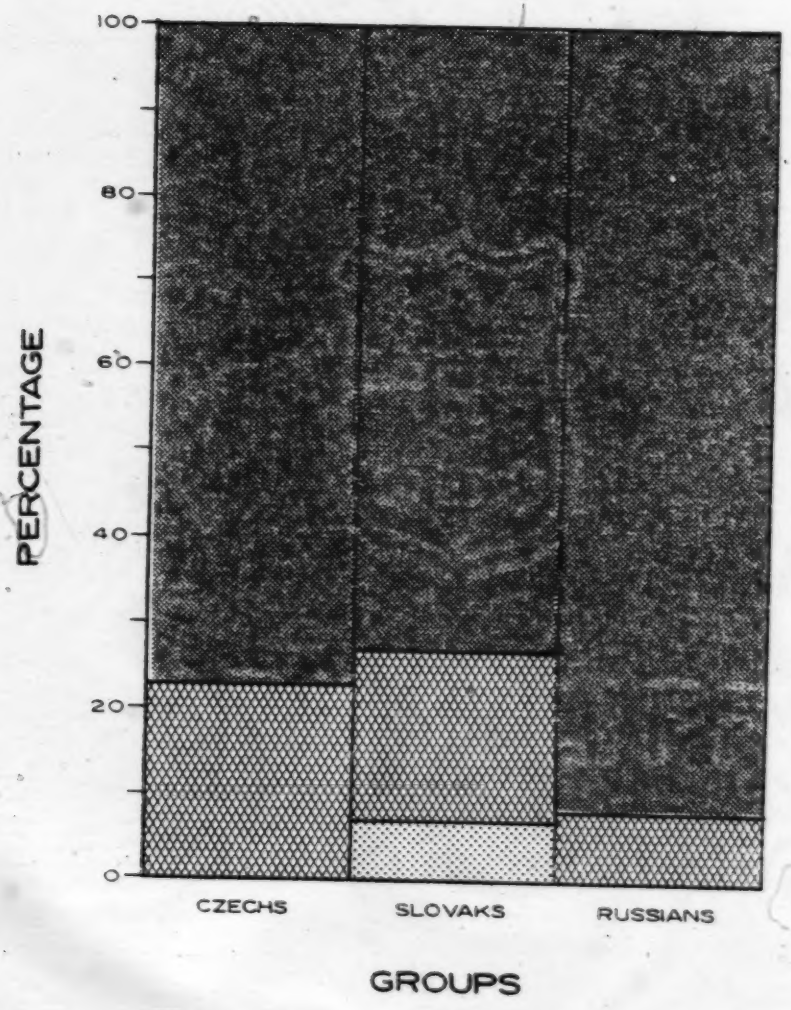
Russians.

Although the results for language usage in the social setting between members of the same Slavic group are not statistically significant (.1713), the figures themselves are interesting to look at (graph 13). 80.2% (65/81) of the questionnaire respondents wrote that they use nothing but their native Slavic language when they meet socially with members of the same Slavic group. However, of the Russians in the study, 92.3% (24/26) will use Russian exclusively, which is a much higher amount than the 76.9% (20/26) of the Czechs and 72.4% (21/29) of the Slovaks who will do the same.

Length of residence in Canada could be playing a role here, because when the data for those immigrants who have been in Canada for five years or less is analyzed, one sees that the figures are much higher and much closer. In this group of recent immigrants, 92.7% (38/41) use nothing but their native tongue in the social domain. The breakdown finds the Russians again with the highest degree of usage of the mother tongue (95.5 or 21/22), but the Slovaks (91.7 or 11/12) and the Czechs (85.7 or 6/7) are not far behind.

It is quite likely that a longer period of residence in Canada leads to the establishment of more social ties with people outside of one's

13. Percentage of Slavs Who Will Use their Native Slavic Language in the Social Setting with Members of the Same Slavic Group*



SIGNIFICANCE = .1713

ethno-linguistic group. Thus, a gathering of people including members of one's own Slavic group may also consist of non-Slavs, resulting in English being used more often.

English Language Classes

In an effort to adjust to life in Canada from a linguistic standpoint, 71.4% (60/84) of the immigrants in the study attended, or were in the process of attending, English language classes. The classes were offered at the University of Alberta, at various Public and Separate schools, and at Alberta Vocational College. 56.7% of the immigrants found the courses to be "very useful", and 40.0% (24/60) found them "somewhat useful". Only 3.3% (2/60) felt that the courses were of little use.

Of the 24 immigrants who had not attended English language courses, 14 (54.2) expressed some regret that they hadn't taken such courses. The remaining 11 did not.

Attitudes to Children Learning the Slavic Language

In the previous chapter, the writer made reference to Johnson's study of Polish immigrants in Australia. As mentioned, Johnson felt that the attitude of the Polish immigrants towards the assimilation of their children would give some indication of the immigrants' attitudes towards

assimilation in general (including, of course, linguistic assimilation). In the present study, the immigrants were asked if they would like their children to be able to speak their particular Slavic language. Those immigrants who were single, or married without children, were asked to reply to this question as if they had children. The replies show an extremely powerful desire for the particular Slavic tongue to be maintained. 82/84 immigrants (97.6) wished that their children would be able to speak their Slavic language.

One single Czech male, who replied "no" to this question, said that if he had children, he would rather have them speak some other language which would be of more use, such as French or German. The other non-affirmative reply came from a young single Russian male (who was, incidentally, the youngest subject in the study), who felt "indifferent" to whatever offspring he'll have some day learning Russian. More information on the parent's attitudes towards their children's abilities to speak the ethnic tongue can be found in the results of the interviews, below.

Desire to Speak Better English

Most of the immigrants (72/84 or 87.8) expressed a stong desire to be able to speak English better. "Speaking English better" implies speaking

without any of the grammatical mistakes that some of the immigrants make, and also being able to speak English without an accent. Even immigrants whose English grammar and vocabulary were superior to those of an average English speaker's, wished strongly that they could lose their accents. 9/82 immigrants (11.0) had a weak desire to speak English better, and only one (a Russian male) expressed no desire to speak English better.[24]

General Problems of Assimilation

At the end of each questionnaire, the immigrants were asked to rate five major problem areas of immigrant assimilation, rating each area on a scale of 1 to 5 ("1" representing "great difficulty" to "5" representing "no difficulty"). Of these five major areas (language difficulties, finding a job, adjusting to a new lifestyle, making new friends, and finding a place to live), only one (finding a job) showed any real statistical significance (.0887).

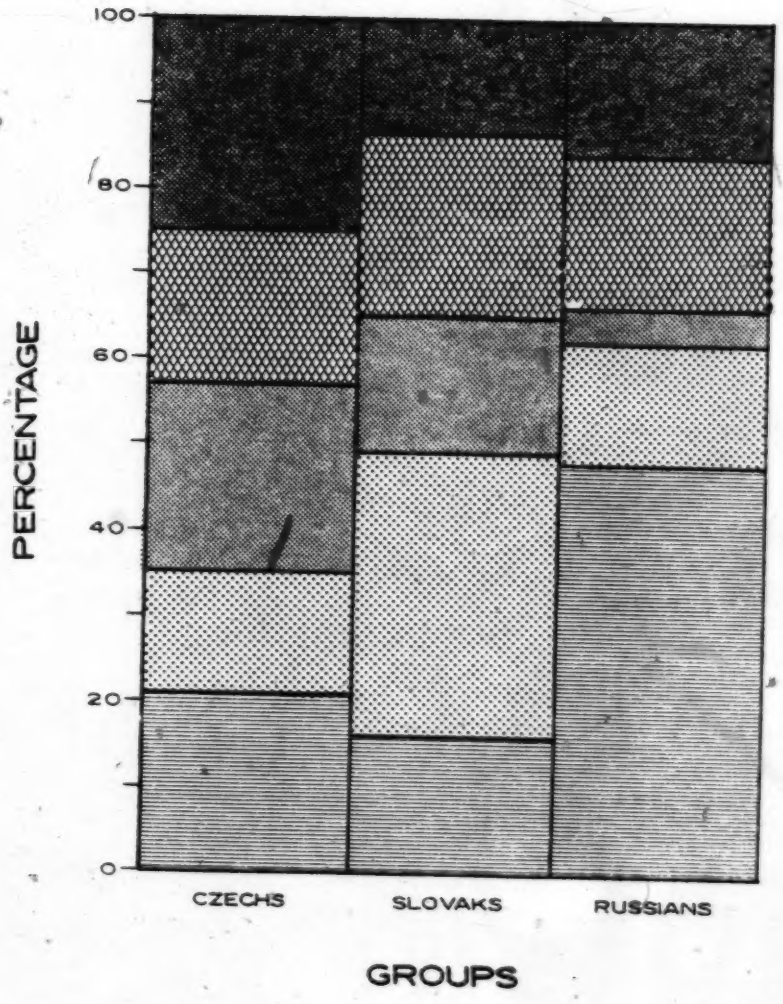
Of the three immigrant groups, the Russians found it the most difficult to find a job (Section B, graph 1). 48.0% (12/25) reported that they had great difficulty finding work, and another 16.0% (4/25) said that it was difficult finding a job.

---

[24] In the interview, this individual remarked, "I'm getting old. I won't ever be able to speak English any better than I can right now. So why think of it?"

SECTION B GENERAL PROBLEMS OF ADAPTATION

1. "Finding a Job"



SIGNIFICANCE = .0887

21.4% (6/28) of the Czechs and only 13.8% (4/29) of the Slovaks felt it was very difficult finding work. An additional 14.3% (4/28) of the Czechs and 34.5% (10/29) of the Slovaks said it was difficult to find work.

It could be argued that the Russians would be expected to have more difficulty finding work, given that a larger number of Russians (22/26 or 84.6) than Slovaks (12/30 or 40.0) and Czechs (7/28 or 25.0) came to Canada within the last five years, when the country was experiencing economic problems. However, when the group of recent immigrants is examined, it appears that the Russians in the study still had more difficulty than the Czechs and Slovaks finding work (although here the differance between groups is not significant). 5/12 of these Slovaks (41.6) and 3/7 Czechs (42.9) found it very difficult or difficult to find work, while 12/21 Russians (57.1) made the same claim.

It should be pointed out that "finding a job" was not seen by some of the Russians as simply finding any form of employment. These Russians reported in the interviews that while it's not difficult to find work in general, it's difficult to find work "po special'nosti" ("in one's field"). Consequently, they said that finding work was difficult.

Few of the immigrants found it much of a problem meeting other people in Canada (graph 2).[23] While 24.1% (20/83) reported that getting to know other people was difficult or very difficult, 28.9% (24/83) said they had no problems in making the acquaintence of others, and 19.3% (16/83) found this to pose little difficulty.

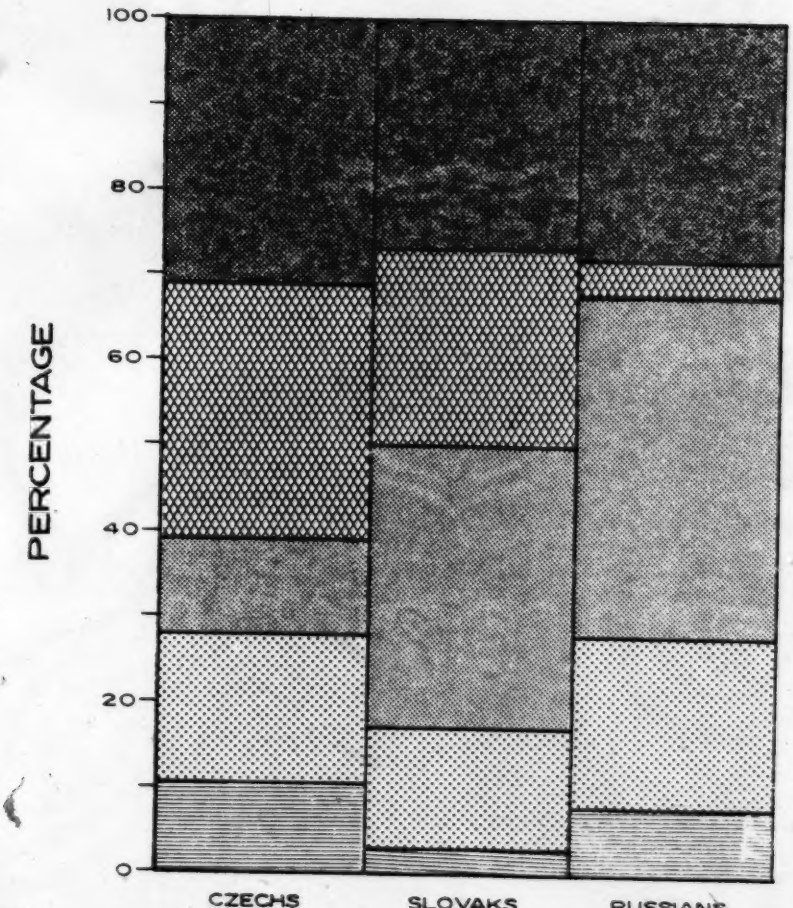
As was the case with making new friends, most of the immigrants in the study reported that they encountered little difficulty in adjusting to the Canadian lifestyle (graph 3). 27.7% (23/83) reported no difficulty here, and 20.5 (17/83) reported minor difficulty. Only 10.8% (9/83) found adjusting to the Canadian lifestyle very difficult, and 14.5% (12/83) found it difficult. 26.5% (22/83) felt they had neither any real difficulty nor any particular ease in adjusting to life in Canada.

Language proved to be a major obstacle for all three groups involved in the study (graph 4). 56.6% (47/83) found learning English to be very difficult,

---

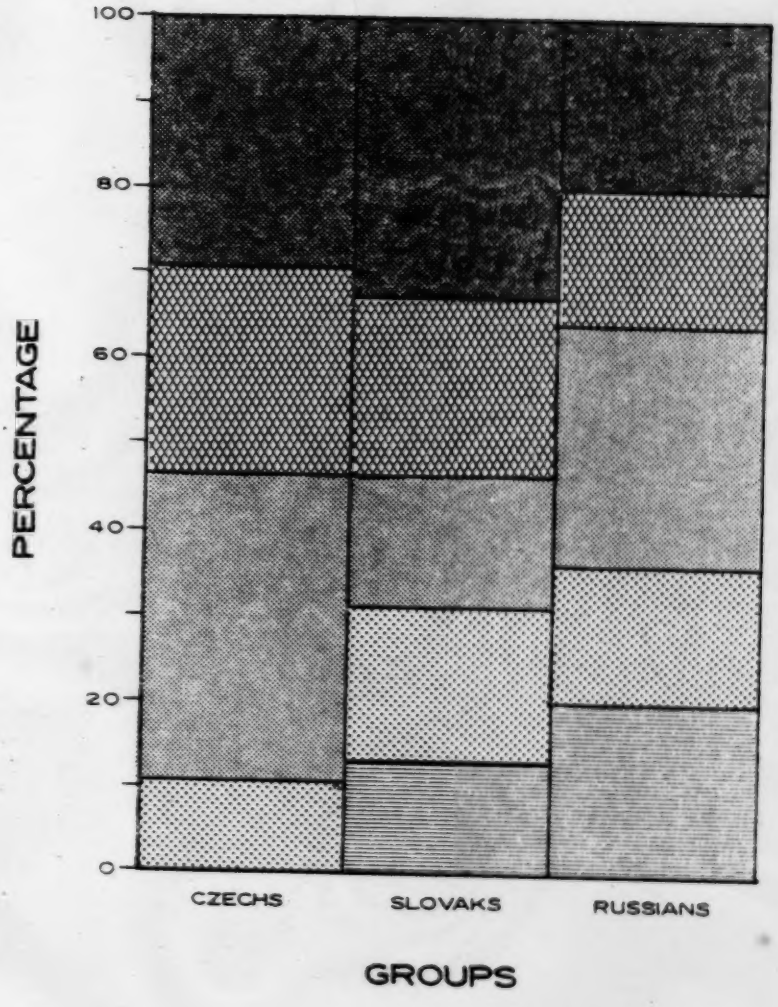
[23]The original model of the questionnaire was written in English, and the term "meeting people" was used here, meaning "to come to know other people"; "to make their acquaintence". "Meeting people" translated well into Czech ("seznamování se s lidmi") and Slovak ("soznamovanie sa s l'ud'mi"), but not into Russian. As a result, the writer decided to use the form "zavesti novye znakomstva" ("making new acquaintences"), as he felt it was a more generic expression than the other alternative, "najti novyx druzej" ("finding new friends"). Some of the Russians nonetheless pointed out the difference between these two expressions. These Russians claimed that meeting people was not difficult, but finding friends was.

2. "Making New Friends"*



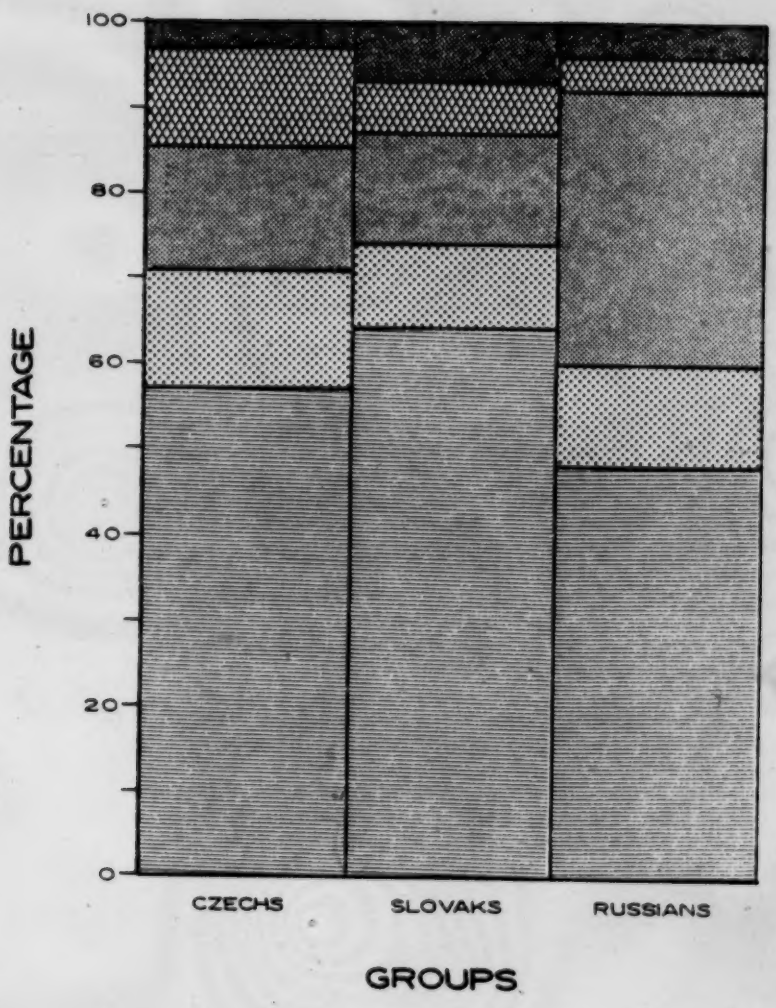
SIGNIFICANCE = .2117

3. "Adjusting to a New Lifestyle"*



SIGNIFICANCE = .3439

4. "Language Difficulties"*



SIGNIFICANCE = .7595

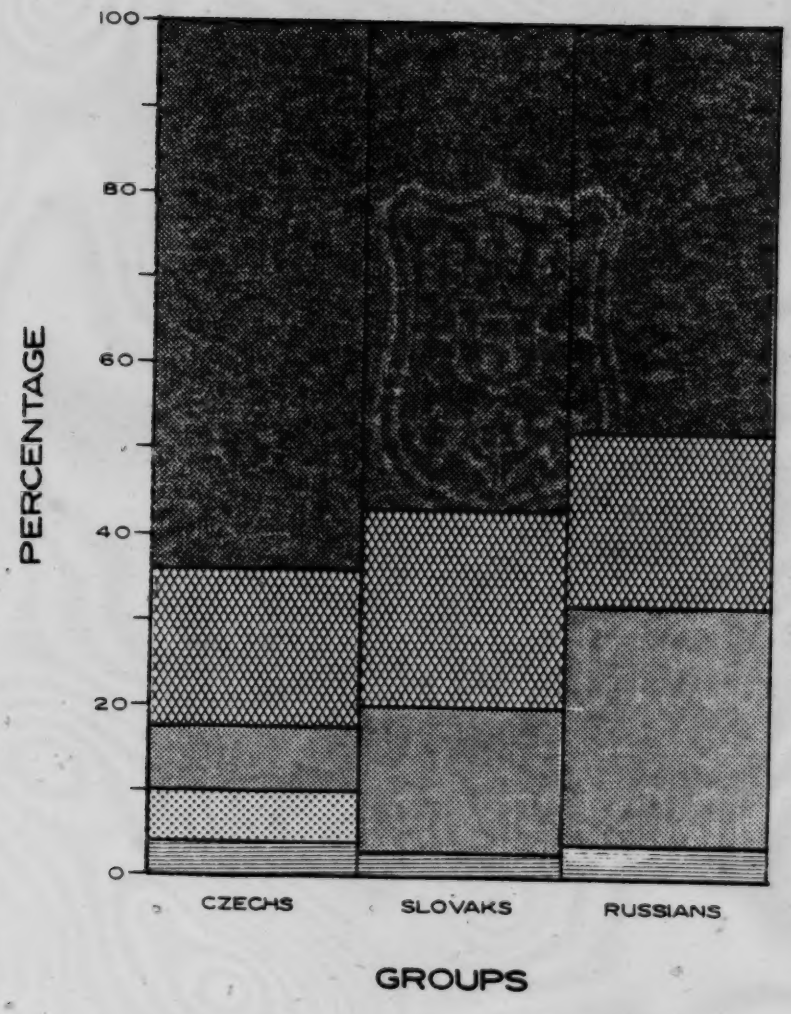
and another 12.0% (10/83) found it to be difficult. Only 12.0% of the immigrants felt that learning English posed little or no difficulty.

At first glance it may appear that for the Russians - who came to Canada slightly more linguistically prepared than the Czechs and Slovaks - learning English was less of a problem, albeit still a major problem, in assimilation. This indeed seems to be the case when one looks at the "great difficulty" and "difficult" categories. 48.0% of the Russians (12/25) said that the language difficulties encountered were great, compared with the higher figures of 63.3% (19/30) for the Slovaks and 57.1% (16/28) for the Czechs. Furthermore, 12.0% (3/25) of the Russians reported learning English to be difficult, as did 10.0% (3/30) of the Slovaks and 14.3% (4/28) of the Czechs.

However, amongst those immigrants who rated language difficulties a "3" (neither great nor minor), a much larger proportion of Russians (8/25 or 32.0) can be found, compared to the number of Czechs (4/28 or 14.3) and Slovaks (4/30 or 13.3).

Finding a place to live presented little problem to the immigrants (graph 5). 77.1% (64/83) reported to have little or no difficulty in finding a place to live.

5. "Finding a Place to Live"*



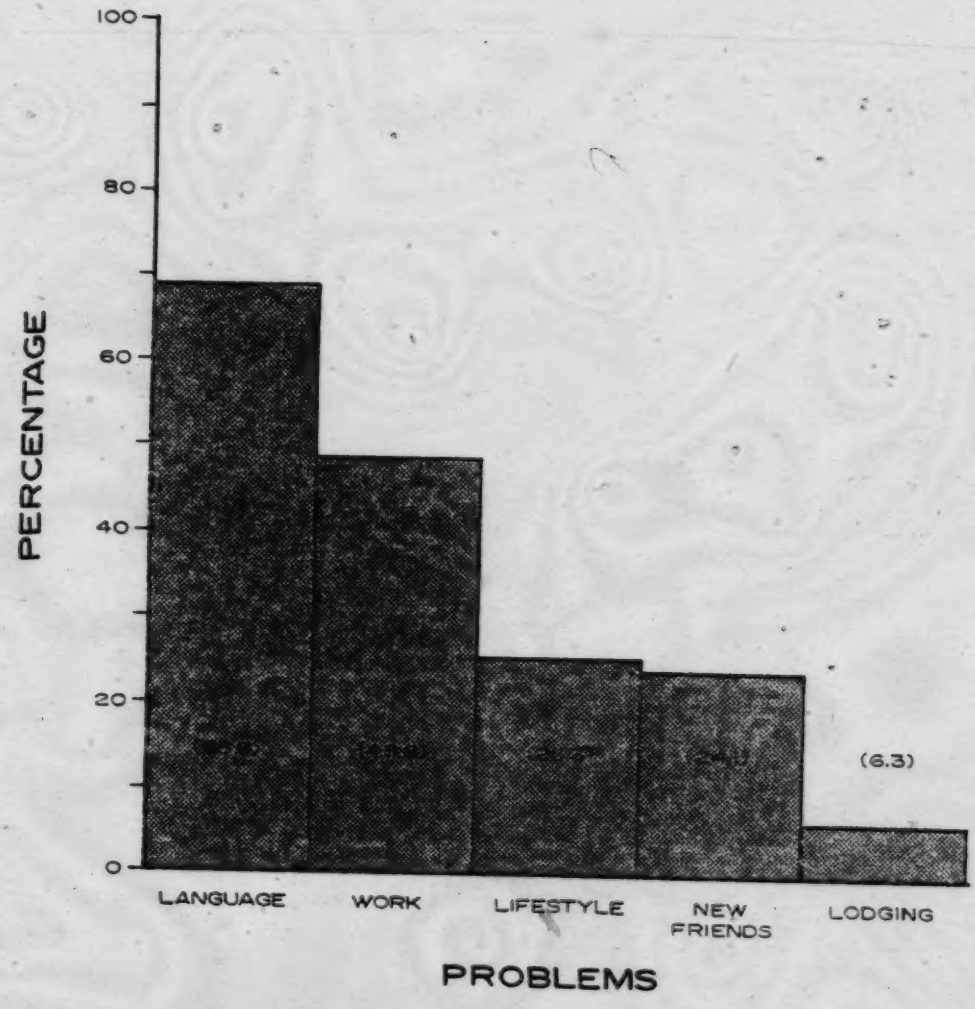
SIGNIFICANCE = .4154

In order to find out which of these five major areas of assimilation posed the most problems for the immigrants, the writer combined the results of the categories "great difficulty" and "difficult" for each area, and then compared all five problem areas with one another (graph 6). Language proved to be without question the major problem of assimilation for the immigrants in the study. 68.6% of the immigrants found learning English to be very difficult or difficult. "Finding a job" was second (48.8), "adjusting to a new lifestyle" was third (25.3), "making new acquaintenances" placed a close fourth (24.1), and "finding a place to live" was seen as the least important of the problems (6.3).

Other Variables in the Study

The other variables in the study did not produce the amount of statistically significant differences between groups that the variable "ethnic origin" did, and owing to the small size of the populations studied - and the resulting lower absolute values - the simple statistics are not as interesting to look at (these problems have already been discussed earlier in this chapter). In spite of this, some insights into language usage amongst the immigrants was obtained from these data.

6. "The Problems Ranked on the Basis of the Combined 'great difficulty/difficult' Categories"



Residence in Canada

One example would be the cross-tabulations involving "residence in Canada" with language usage in the social domain. When it comes to *meeting other Slavs socially*, only within the Slovak group is there a significant difference between the residence groups (.0757). It appears from the data that the longer the Slovaks have been in Canada, the more likely they are to meet socially with members of other Slavic groups. Of those Slovak immigrants who have been here five years or less, 7/12 or 58.3% meet socially with other Slavs; of those Slovaks who have been here six to fifteen years, 13/14 or 92.3% meet with other Slavs, and 2/2 immigrants in the "over 15" category do likewise.

The Russian results are close to being significant (.1137), and like the Slovaks, it seems that length of time in Canada could increase social contact with other Slavs.

The Czech results also come close to being significant (.1309), but from looking at the data, it seems that unlike the other two groups there is little difference amongst the Czechs concerning length of time in Canada and meeting other Slavs socially.

As far as *language usage with other Slavs in the social setting* is concerned, differences between

residence groups amongst the Czechs and the Slovaks - but not the Russians - were very significant (.0265 and .0034 respectively). In this domain, the recent Czech immigrants were more likely to use Czech than the Czechs who had been here longer. All of the recent immigrants (7/7) would never or rarely use English with the other Slavs, while only 6/17 (35.3) Czechs who had been here six to fifteen years would never or rarely use English.

The same holds true for the Slovak immigrants. 5/14 (35.7) of the Slovak immigrants who have been here six to fifteen years will never use English socially with other Slavs (compared with 0/7 recent Slovak immigrants), and 2/14 (14.3) will use English rarely. 6/7 (85.7) of the recent Slovak immigrants meanwhile reported using English rarely. At the other end of the scale, 4/14 Slovaks (28.6) in the six to fifteen group said they used English often with other Slavs, and 2/14 (14.3) said they used English always. Both of the Slovaks who had been here longer than fifteen years always spoke English with other Slavs. Not one of the recent immigrants claimed to use English often or always with other Slavs socially.

In the *social setting with members of the same Slavic group*, the Slovaks were the only group which displayed any significant difference (and extremely

significant at that - .0000) between residence groups. The Slovak data showed that the longer the Slovaks had been in Canada, the less likely they were to use Slovak in the social setting with other Slovaks. Of the recent Slovak immigrants, 11/12 (91.7) use Slovak always (1/12 uses it often), and of the six to fifteen year group, 10/15 (66.7) use Slovak always and 5/15 use it often. Both of the Slovaks who have been here over fifteen years report that they use Slovak sometimes in the social setting.

Education

The variable of education did not prove to be an important factor in determining language usage amongst immigrants in the study. Most of the immigrants in the study were well educated, and differences between various education levels were very rarely statistically significant. [24]

7/28 Czechs (25.0), 7/30 Slovaks (23.3), and 17/26 Russians (65.4)[25]

---

[24]"The grade levels in the Soviet and Czechoslovak educational systems are not identical to those in Canada. Thus, the grade levels mentioned here are only roughly equivalant to those in Canada.

[25]"The high number of Soviet immigrants in the study with a university education or its equivelant agrees with the findings of Busch (1983). In Busch's study of Soviet-Jewish immigrants in Edmonton, 70.17% of the questionnaire respondents have a university education or its equivalant. To account for this large amount of college educated Soviet immigrants, Busch offers this explanation:

This is an extremely high figure and may reflect

in the study came to Canada with a college level education. 16/28 Czechs (57.1), 7/26 Russians (26.9), and 24/30 Slovaks (40.0) had completed "advanced high school" ("dokončená střední škola" in Czechoslovakia or "polnaja srednjaja škola" in the USSR) and/or obtained training in a trade. 5/28 Czechs (17.9), 2/26 Russians (7.7), and 11/30 Slovaks (36.7) completed "high school" ("nedokončená střední škola in Czechoslovkia or "nepolnaja srednjaja škola" in the USSR).

In both the Czech and Russian groups, no correlation was found between knowledge of English upon arrival in Canada and education level. While such a correlation did exist amongst the Slovaks (where the significance was .0001), the absolute values of the results make one reluctant to draw any firm conclusions.

Within the Slovak group, 10/11 (90.9) of those at the "high school" level and 12/12 at the "advanced high school level" knew no English at all upon arrival in Canada. Only 2/7 (26.7) at the college level made the same claim. Another 2/7 at this level knew English poorly, 1/7 knew it adequately, and the remaining 2/7 knew it well. It

---

[27](cont'd)a tendency of the highly educated to respond to the questionnaire. Still, a high degree of education among the respondents does reflect Soviet conditions where 46.8% of the Jewish population have received higher education as compared with 6.5% for Russians.

would appear that amongst the Slovaks, knowledge of English upon arrival to Canada increases with level of education.

Another area which was significant for the Slovaks, but not for the Czechs and Russians, concerned having come to understand another Slavic language in Canada. As mentioned previously, a much higher proportion of Slovaks than Czechs and Russians now claim to be able to understand another Slavic language in Canada. Although a greater percentage of Slovaks with an intermediate level education than those with an education at the other two levels now understand another Slavic language, it is difficult to say what role education is playing in this. 10/12 or 83.3% of those Slovaks with advanced high school or trade training reported being able to now understand another Slavic language, compared with 5/11 (45.5) high school graduates and 3/7 (42.9) of those at the college level. However, length of residence in Canada may be a contributing factor here, because more Slovak immigrants with an advanced high school education have been in Canada longer than Slovaks in the other two groups. In fact, 8/11 (72.7) high school graduates and 2/7 (28.6) college graduates have come to Canada within the last five years, compared with only 2/12 (16.7) advanced high school graduates.

Sex

In analyzing the data, the writer discovered much to his surprise that sex did not appear to be playing any role in language usage amongst immigrants in the study. 15/28 Czechs (53.6), 13/26 Russians (50.0), and 11/30 Slovaks (36.7) in the study were female, yet, no significant differances were noted.

Results of the Interviews

The writer succeeded in carrying out interviews with most of the questionnaire respondents. The interviews proved to be an excellent source of information pertaining not only to language usage, but to the overall immigrant experience as well. All but seven of the interviews were conducted in the immigrants' homes. What struck the writer as surprising was the enthusiasm and thoroughness of the immigrants in describing their adjustment to life in Canada. This seemed to be most apparent amongst the Russian-speaking immigrants, for many of whom meeting a Russian-speaking Canadian was somewhat of a novelty. In fact, one Soviet immigrant who had been in Canada two years told the writer while discussing life in the USSR, "You know, you're the first Canadian I've been able to talk to since coming here. Other Canadians don't understand you, or else they don't want to believe you".

Although the flow of conversation varied from interview to interview, the writer would bring up four major topics to discuss: 1) maintenance of the ethnic language amongst the immigrants' children, 2) the attitude of other Canadians towards the immigrants (and the question of "discrimination"), 3) "homesickness", or longing to return to the native country, and 4) the manner in which the immigrants learned - or were in the process of learning - English.

Language Maintenance Amongst the Immigrants' Children

As seen from the questionnaire data, 82/84 (97.6) of the questionnaire respondents wanted their children to speak the ethnic Slavic tongue. In the interviews, the immigrants expressed a strong desire that their children be able to speak their native language, and many make a special effort to attain this end.

It goes without saying, that one of the pre-conditions for learning any language is contact of some form with that language. Thus, the immigrants would have to speak their native language often at home so that their children could learn it. This implies that both parents be able to speak the given Slavic language. It was found in the several instances where Slavic-speaking immigrants had not married an immigrant of the same linguistic group,

that the children knew next to nothing of the immigrant's Slavic tongue. For example, one Slovak who had married an Italian immigrant reported that although his children knew little Slovak, they spoke Italian.[28]

The mother tongue also appeared to be more easily maintained if the children were born in Europe and had attended school there. In other words, the older the child upon arrival to Canada, the more likely he would maintain the Slavic language. Of course, native knowledge of a language does not necessarily imply maintenance of that language, if the language is never used. Often amongst the Czechs and Slovaks the writer was told, "My children don't like speaking Czech", or, "Our boys speak only English with us, but if they really wanted to, they could speak Slovak". Clearly, language attitudes on the part of the offspring are playing a role here.

Moreover, "language maintenance" amongst children who came to Canada at a later age has a different meaning than it does for those children who came at a much earlier age or were perhaps born in Canada. In the former, language maintenance involves the children maintaining *their* native

---

[28] In this case, the Slovak father was away from home working for long periods of time. The mother was left at home alone with the children, and obviously spoke Italian with them.

language, while in the latter, maintaining *their parents'* native language.

The immigrants who spoke nothing but their native Slavic language with their children did so for two reasons. Firstly, and most importantly, they wanted their mother tongue to be maintained. One young Russian couple reported that when their son started kindergarten in Edmonton he forgot his Russian: "We don't want him to forget his Russian. He'll learn English no problem, but with Russian, he'll forget it if we don't teach it to him". Similarily, a Czech couple said, "We speak Czech with the children, we want them to learn it ... We have to teach it to them now, or else it will be hard for them to learn as they get older".

The attitude of one Czech male in particular towards language maintenance in his children seemed to contradict his own personal behaviour. In spite of the fact that this immigrant sees to it that he has as few Czech friends as possible, has nothing to do with the Czech community, and prefers to speak English when he does meet other Czechs, he nonetheless stated, "I'm very strict with my children on this. They either speak Czech or they don't eat".

A second reason why immigrants do not speak English with their children is the concern that the

children will not learn to speak English correctly. One Russian woman and several Czech couples never spoke English with their children as they were worried the children would speak English with their own accents.

In spite of maintenance efforts on the part of the immigrants, both they and their children have noticed differences in the Slavic language spoken by the children. The youngest immigrant in the study, a Russian male, mentioned that he noticed a "vocabulary gap" when he speaks Russian with his parents. This "vocabulary gap" was often mentioned by other immigrants. An eight-year old boy will switch from Russian to English at times in conversation with his parents, saying, "I can't talk with you because I can't explain it in Russian". One Czech couple always speak Czech with their daughter, unless they're helping her with her homework, in which case they switch to English. A Slovak husband and wife noted, "Sometimes we find it easier to speak English than Slovak, like when we want to explain something to our son". A Slovak mother who uses nothing but Slovak with her ten-year old son and four-year old daughter will start speaking English when she's mad at them ("I yell at them in English because there are some Slovak words they don't understand"). A final example is that of a

Slovak father:

> We always speak Slovak with the kids. When I use certain technical words - like "vodičský preukaz" ("driver's license") - they don't understand. They don't know how to tell time, and they can only count to ten.

This immigrant has also developed a system of "positive reinforcement" to help his children learn Slovak. He will point to an object in the house, and if his daughters can say what it is in Slovak, they get a nickel.

The Attitude of Other Canadians Towards the Immigrants

The views of the immigrants in the study as to how they've been treated in Canada are almost as numerous as the number of immigrants themselves. Although there is a wide variety of different views here, there are some very definite patterns in the responses of the immigrants.

There seems to be a consensus that, overall, the immigrants have been well accepted by other Canadians. The attitude of some immigrants is that they really aren't all that different from other Canadians. One Russian immigrant implied as much by saying, "Canada is a country of immigrants", a sentiment echoed in the statements of a couple of Czech males; "I've never noticed any discrimination. Everyone here is really a D.P.", and "We're all D.P.s, be it second- or third-generation". One Slovak woman stated, "I don't really feel like an

immigrant; almost everyone here is an immigrant or second- or third-generation Canadian".

Three Czech immigrants noted the difference between acceptance of immigrants in Canada as compared with that in Europe. These Czechs claimed to feel accepted as Canadians, adding that this is "remarkable", because one could live in Germany for 30 years and still be considered an *Ausländer*.

For several immigrants, acceptance by other Canadians was affected by socio-economic factors. These immigrants felt that some native Canadians were jealous of them and resent them for having better paying jobs and enjoying a higher standard of living. One Slovak male commented:

> I feel I'm well accepted by other Canadians ... They consider me to be a fellow Canadian. But I'm in a position of hiring and firing Canadians, and I feel guilty about this; I'm taking a job from someone.

His wife added to his comment:

> In general, we've been accepted very well. Now and then some Canadians feel that since we're not native Canadians, we shouldn't occupy higher positions.

Similarily, a Czech woman noted, "I'm accepted 'half-and-half'. Some Canadians still resent me, and say that 'foreigners are taking the jobs'".

A few of the immigrants mentioned that they're accepted better by other immigrants, who understand the position they're in. Others meanwhile claim to be treated better by native Canadians than by fellow immigrants. The first point

of view was put forward rather vociferously by a young Slovak woman who has been in Canada nine years, "We'll never be accepted as Canadians - no bloody way. We're treated better by other immigrants, because they understand". One Slovak male who came to Canada in 1950 made a similar comment, "People accept me as an immigrant ... Other immigrants treat us the same, because they're in the same boat we are". Both of these statements are the exact opposite of a Czech woman's personal experience:

> I'm treated well by fourth- and fifth-generation Canadians. Other nationalities in the same position as us treat us badly, and it doesn't matter what they are.

The suggestion that some degree of animosity exists between various groups of immigrants is, according to some of the interviewees, a fact. Several Czechs and Slovaks pointed out that within their respective groups there is a measure of jealousy or dislike between some of their members, who use length of residence in Canada as a dividing line. One Czech, who came to Canada in the late 1960's, said it seemed to him that the Czechoslovaks who came to Canada in 1948 cannot get along with those who came in 1968, and those who came in 1968 cannot get along with those who are coming now. Several Czechoslovak immigrants have reported encountering a "sense of superiority" amongst some Czechs and Slovaks who have been in Canada longer. These immigrants who arrived in Canada at an earlier date feel that the immigrants who arrived later had a much easier time of adjusting to life in Canada than they did. Consequently, the earlier immigrants

feel superior, as they overcame more difficulties in the assimilation process.

As mentioned previously, most of the Russians in the study (22/26 or 84.6) have come to Canada within the last five years, and therefore are not as "stratified" in terms of residence in Canada as are the Czechs and Slovaks. Nonetheless, a couple of Russian immigrants claimed that there exists a kind of "sorevnovanie" ("competition") between the Russian immigrants. For example, if one of the Russians buys a car, another has to buy a car (and a better one). If one buys a house, another has to buy a house (and a bigger one). In other words, it seems these Russian immigrants are trying to outdo each other.

Most of the immigrants in the study reported that they had never met with any form of discrimination. The consensus was that prejudice is a characteristic of personality, and not nationality.[2'] Moreover, quite a few immigrants linked prejudice with degree of education. They felt that the type of person who would discriminate against them (or anyone else for that matter) would likely be poorly educated. One Czech woman, who worked at the University of Alberta, said, "I've never had a feeling of being discriminated against, particularly at university. Poorly educated people might discriminate against me though". A Czech restaurant owner made a similar claim, "Intelligent people won't call me a D.P. Some lower class people might say I'm a f--king D.P.,

---

[2'] One Czech male noted: "If you're a bigot, it doesn't matter if you're Czech, Chinese, or whatever".

but that doesn't bother me".

One rather curious observation was made amongst the Czech and Slovak immigrants concerning discrimination. Although it was generally felt that prejudice is not a "national" characteristic, there was some consistency in reference to the "English" (i.e., British English) as being prejudiced. Some typical comments were; "I feel Canadian, and Canadians treat me this way. I feel accepted. But British people treat us differently"; "British subjects feel they're superior. I have no problems with real Canadians"; and "People accept me as an immigrant. British people don't treat us as well, although not all of them". One Czech woman reported how hurt she felt when at work at university a British accented woman came in and wanted some information. The British woman than said she wanted to speak to someone who didn't have an accent.

Homesickness

Virtually all of the immigrants in the study reported some degree of homesickness. Many felt that the first several years were the most difficult, but that gradually they came to consider Canada "home". One Czech woman however had serious problems after emigrating:

> I don't feel homesick now. I'm just very glad that we're here. When we first immigrated, I would wake up in a sweat at night, because I had dreams that I was back in Czechoslovakia and couldn't get out. I even saw my doctor about it.

The majority of the immigrants would like to go back to

Czechoslovakia or the USSR, but just for a visit. Many do not get "homesick" so much as they miss their family and friends. One Russian woman however said:

> Both my daughter and I are homesick. We think about it everyday. I like it here, but not everything is to my liking. I miss Leningrad, the culture, and the outlook on life.

This woman went on to express her dismay that all Canadians seem to talk about is sports. They have no interest in ballet or opera.

One Slovak male who would not go back to Czechoslovakia even for a visit noted rather bitterly, "Only when I get drunk do I want to go back. I sober up by reading a newspaper from Czechoslovakia".

Based on what the immigrants had to say about homesickness, the writer suggests that a future study could try to determine whether there is some correlation between 1) the degree of homesickness and mastery of English, and 2) the degree of homesickness and marital status. The writer makes these suggestions because the immigrants appeared to feel more at home in Canada once their English started to improve, and many of the Czech and Slovak males who came to Canada alone (no females in any group came to Canada alone) reported that they felt less homesick once they got married and started to raise a family. One Slovak male who came to Canada in 1948 mentioned both of these factors in overcoming his homesickness:

> I felt homesick for a long time - about five years - until I got married ... I also felt less homesick as my English got better and I adjusted

to the lifestyle.

A Slovak immigrant who arrived two years later expressed a similar sentiment, "I'm not homesick. When you have a home and family, what else matters?"

Learning English

As seen in the data from the questionnaires, practically all of the immigrants in the study had little or no background in English before coming to Canada. One Czech who did however, felt that the English he learned in Czechoslovakia was too "bookish" and not of much help to him here. A Russian woman studied English for three years in Leningrad, but said that since it was British English she learned, she became very confused when having to adjust to Canadian English. Another Soviet immigrant who studied English said, "I studied English in elementary school. No one, of course, took it seriously. I studied English much harder a year before leaving".

A few Czechs and Slovaks mentioned that they would have studied English if they had known they would come to Canada. One of these immigrants commented rather wryly, "We didn't study English because we didn't know we'd be coming to Canada. But then, we didn't know the Russians would be coming either".

In order to learn English as quickly as possible upon arrival in Canada, a few immigrants tried to find work where they wouldn't know anyone. One Slovak who did so said:

> For his own good, an immigrant should avoid contact with members of his own or similar Slavic groups. He should work just with Canadians, no matter how rotten the job ... I was sent to work in Whitehorse for four months. There were no Slavs up there, and I came back speaking English.

A statement made by a Czech agrees with that of the Slovak's:

> If you work with Canadians, you learn English quicker. If you work with other immigrants, you can't learn English grammar and pronunciation as well.

Some immigrants pointed out that there are Slavs who have been working in collectives in Canada, and that after four or five years they hardly know any English. In one case for example, a Czech woman quit her job in a library because (amongst other things) there were too many Czechs there and it was affecting the development of her English.

The methods employed by the immigrants to learn English included reading, watching television, attending English language classes, and simply speaking with people at work. Amongst these methods there was considerable variation. Some immigrants watched the childrens' television program "Sesame Street" (considered "an excellent program for immigrants"), while others - males - read Playboy magazine, ostensibly to improve their English. Several of the Czech and Slovak males, who were single upon arrival in Canada, suggested

that the best thing a single immigrant can do is to find a Canadian girlfriend and learn English from her. Several of these males not only learned English from their Canadian girlfriends, but went on to marry them.

As the questionnaire results showed, language difficulties proved to be the major obstacle encountered by the immigrants. In the words of one Slovak immigrant:

> When an immigrant comes to Canada, the language is the main problem. Even intellectuals find it frustrating. They are very bright, but they can't express themselves.

An excellent example of this can be seen in the remarks of a young Russian immigrant, who is majoring in Political Science at the University of Alberta:

> I'm concerned about how I'm accepted at university. I feel inferior because I don't know much about Canadian politics ... When I write a paper I get lower marks because I can't express myself well enough stylistically ... I don't get homesick, but when something goes wrong, like getting a bad mark, I want to go back.

The various comments and quotations cited in this chapter, which were obtained form the interviews, do not give the complete picture of the experiences these Slavic immigrants went through. Each immigrant's story of adjusting to life in Canada is worth a chapter in itself. Nonetheless, it is hoped that some of the general observations which were made here have shed some light on the assimilation process, particularily with reference to language.

V. Conclusion

In this work, various topics concerning language usage amongst immigrant groups were discussed, with particular reference to language usage amongst immigrant groups of Slavic origin. These topics included bilingualism, language maintenance and language shift, immigrant assimilation, the linguistic status of Slavs in Canada, and the concept of "mutual comprehensibility" as it applies to Slavic immigrants. The writer then described a study which he carried out on language usage amongst selected groups of Slavic-speaking immigrants in Edmonton. This chapter contains some final remarks concerning the study and makes suggestions for further investigation.

Suggestions for Analyzing Domains

As mentioned in Chapter I, language shift can be seen as a decrease in the frequency of using one's native language, along with a corresponding increase in frequency of using the language of the population with which one is now in contact. The results of the writer's study show that the process of language shift has taken place (or perhaps more appropriately, *is* taking place) in various degrees amongst the immigrants surveyed. It is important to remember however, that the measures of language usage cited in the last chapter are measures of language usage amongst the Slavic immigrants themselves, and are not measures of total language usage within a given domain. For example, a

question on language usage in the work domain asks how often an immigrant uses his Slavic language with other Slavs. The frequency reported here by the immigrant will not likely be the same as the one reported if he was asked how often he uses his Slavic language at work. He may report using his Slavic language often or always at work with other Slavs, but yet also report rarely using his Slavic language at work, as he rarely works with other Slavs. Thus, two measures of language usage can be obtained in a given domain.

The writer used the former measure in this work, as language usage within and between various Slavic groups was of interest to him. Of course, a further study could determine how often a certain Slavic language is spoken against the background of total language usage within a given domain. Such a study however would probably not produce very interesting results, as non-Slavic speakers are numerically vastly superior to Slavic speakers in Edmonton. A study carried out along these lines would probably offer a much better picture of language usage if two or more relatively large language groups were compared. Examples would be the frequencies of French/English usage in various domains in Montreal, or French/German usage in Switzerland.

In addition, a measure of language usage solely between members of one linguistic group gives an indication of language maintenance/shift within that group, while a measure of language usage in the overall domain would likely

reflect the "necessity" to speak a certain language. For instance, two Czech immigrants who work together have the option of using either English or Czech. When one of them speaks with a non-Slavic co-worker however, the language used, by necessity, will be English, not Czech. In the first case, the choice of language may be determined by various factors such as language attitudes, the ability to express oneself more easily in one's native language, and the presence of English speakers. In the second case, language choice is not a result of any interplay of different factors. Rather, it might be said that language "choice" is not involved here, for the Czech immigrant *has* to speak English in order to be understood.

A future study trying to determine language maintenance/shift in an immigrant population should, most importantly, determine language usage within the immigrant group itself (as the present study has done). Secondly, the researcher might, if he so desires, determine the frequency which the language is used in the overall domain (which the present study has not done). The latter results would probably be of little sociolinguistic interest, unless an inordinately large number of members of the same linguistic group were found to be in the same domain.

Some of the data collected by the writer in the course of the study were not included in the final analysis. Some of these exceptions were discussed previously, such as language usage in the public setting (which was excluded

owing to ambiguities in the questionnaire), and language usage at the Manpower and Immigration office (which was excluded because of the complexities involved in trying to analyze the responses). Another exception, which has not been discussed, is the question concerning actual languages used during inter-group interaction in the social setting. As was the case with the Manpower and Immigration questions, the immigrants' responses were very complex. Some Slovaks for example would report that they meet socially "often" with other Slavs, and that in this domain they use only Slovak with Czechs, but use English "often" or "always" with Ukrainians. Consequently, the question, "How often do you use English in the social setting with other Slavs?" can have various replies, depending upon which Slavic group a certain immigrant is in contact with. Furthermore, the analysis here becomes even more complicated when these Slovaks say they meet more frequently with the Ukrainians than they do with the Czechs.

Clearly, if one wishes to overcome these problems and determine *which* Slavic languages are used in a domain, *how often* each of them is used, *by whom* they are used, and *how frequently* the interlocutors interact with one another, then what is needed is a series of questions based on a detailed model of language usage for each conceivable domain. The model could also take into account the presence or absence of non-Slavic speakers, which, as seen from the study results, can greatly affect language usage.

As pointed out earlier (Chapter I, p.p. 6-7), such a model of language usage in a given domain would be extremely complex and, when studied with the assistance of a detailed questionnaire, generate a great deal of intricate data. The writer suggests for further study that if a detailed questionnaire of this sort is constructed, it should examine language usage in only *one* domain (e.g., the social setting). If such a questionnaire were to include even as few as two or three domains, it is quite likely that the questionnaire would be so large as to tax the patience and the attention span of the respondents.

It is up to the researcher to decide if he would like to present a general overview of language usage in various domains, or instead an exacting, detailed analysis of language usage in one domain.

Topics for Further Study

While conducting the interviews, the writer made a list of general topics which could be examined in further studies. Most of these topics do not necessarily concern language, nor do they concern strictly Slavic-speaking immigrants. The topics fall under the following disciplines; 1) sociolinguistics (structural studies), 2) sociology (immigrant adaptation), and 3) political science (political experiences of the immigrants).

1. Sociolinguistics

During the interviews which were not conducted in English, the writer discovered that a researcher interested in studying structural changes in the immigrants' languages (owing to the influence of English) would not lack in material to work with.

The writer proposes that any study carried out on adult immigrants should examine primarily structural changes at the lexical level, as it appeared that English had its greatest influence on the immigrants' vocabulary.[30] The following are a list of examples from the interviews:

1) A Slovak male referred to an "educated person" as "ed'ukatedovaný človek" (instead of "vzdelaný človek").

2) Some of the Czechs and Slovaks used the verb "mixovat" instead of "míchat/miešit'" to indicate how they mixed their respective languages to speak with one another or with other Slavs.

3) One Slovak woman consistently said "v našom houze" ("in our house") instead of "v našom dome".

---

[30] While the writer felt that lexical analysis of the immigrants' Slavic speech would produce considerable results, other studies have examined in great detail various aspects of emigre languages, including lexicon. Such studies have been carried out by Ward (1976) on first- and second-generation Serbs and Croats in Milwaukee, and by Kouzmin (1983), who examined the influence of English grammar on the Russian grammar of Soviet emigres and their children in Australia.

4) A Russian immigrant who had been in Canada for slightly more than two years had spoken nothing but Russian with the writer for several hours. However, when he began to describe the repairs being done on his car, he switched to English. After explaining his car's problems, he went back to Russian.

5) As most of the interviews were carried out in winter, some of the Russians asked to be excused for a minute so that they could plug in the block-heaters in their cars. They said they had to "zaplugovat' mašinu" ("plug in the car"). When the writer mentioned that this verb did not sound very Russian, the immigrants offered "vkl'učit' mašinu" and "podkl'učit' mašinu" as alternatives.[31]

6) The expression "v basmente"[32] (meaning "in the basement") was encountered amongst all three groups. The Czech, Slovak, and Russian languages do not have a word for "basement", as houses in the two respective countries are not built with basements. Alternative words suggested by the immigrants, such as "pivnica" (Slovak) and "podval" (Russian), are inadequate translations, as they mean "cellar".

---

[31] Both 4) and 5) reflect the fact that very few of the Soviet immigrants, like most Soviet citizens, owned cars in the USSR. The names of certain car parts are quite likely new additions to their vocabulary.

[32] Represented phonetically as [v beisment'e].

Structural studies on the language of the immigrants' children should examine changes across the full spectrum of linguistic analysis. Given that the children may have been very young when they came to Canada, or were perhaps even born here, the influence of English on their Slavic languages is likely to be very pronounced not only on the lexical level,[33] but on the phonetic, morphological, and syntactic levels as well. Can a child speak the given Slavic language without an English accent? Has he, owing to the influence of English, simplified the inflectional system of the Slavic language? Is his syntax that of the Slavic language, or that of English? These are some of the questions that can be asked by a researcher when studying structural changes in the children's language.

While examining structural changes in the languages of both the adult immigrants and their children does give some insight into language maintenance/shift and the nature of language contact and interference phenomena, the analysis of the children's language does have an extra benefit. Namely, it shows us how the language is learned. The children's language gives us some idea of the underlying structure of the language, and in what

---

[33] An example of a study concerning the lexicon of Slavic/English bilingual children is that of Wynnyckij (1982), who worked with Ukrainian/English-speaking children in Eastern Canada.

manner the language's grammar rules are constructed. Ohnesorg (1948:106) cites the example of a three-year old Czech child who said, "Vídíš toho leva?" ("Do you see that lion?"), where the correct accusative form "lva" is not used. Here we can see that the fleeting -e- in the word for "lion" was not dropped owing to the process of analogy with the nominative form ("lev"). This would indicate that fleeting vowels (i.e., the vowels -e- and -o-, which are sometimes dropped from words in the oblique cases) are not learned in conjunction with the changes in case endings, but rather are learned later.

A study dealing with Slavic child language in Canada would have to ask if the mistakes made by a child reflect some underlying process in the structure of that Slavic language, or if the mistakes reflect the influence of English. The example cited above would not indicate a mistake owing to the influence of English, but rather to the influence of nominative hard-stem masculine nouns in Czech.

It is difficult however to analyze the sources of other mistakes. If for instance a young Slovak girl were to say, "Stratila som moja knižka" ("I've lost my book"), using the nominative "moja knižka" instead of the correct accusative form "moju

knižku",[34] a researcher could reach two very different conclusions. One, that in the deep-structure of Slovak all nouns and adjectives are nominative "first", and that changes in endings are learned later; or two, the child does not alter case endings owing to the influence of English. If the latter conclusion is accepted, we are still dealing with sociolinguistics. If the former is accepted, we are no longer dealing within the realm of sociolinguistics, but rather in that of transformational grammar and psycholinguistics.

Finally, there may be some subject of interest in the structural analysis of the immigrant Slavic languages for students of comparative and contrastive Slavic linguistics. Many times in the course of the data analysis presented in the last chapter, the present writer has mentioned how speakers of one Slavic language will mix their language with the one spoken by the individual(s) whom they are in contact with. What, precisely, is the nature of this "mixing"? Does it consist primarily of lexical substitutions, or are there substitutions at other linguistic levels as well? In a language contact situation between speakers of different Slavic tongues, how much of each

---

[34] In his study, the writer found that one of the common mistakes in the Slavic speech of the immigrants' children was a confusion of case endings.

interlocutor's speech will indeed be a "mixture"?

Unfortunately, a study carried out along these lines would probably not prove to be anywhere near as fruitful as the study recommended by McDavid (1967) on "Slavish", a pan-Slavic *koiné* spoken in the Mid-Atlantic states and Mid-West of the United States in the early part of this century. "Slavish", which was probably spoken in several varities, was described by one of McDavid's students as "a way that a Croatian can talk to a Bohemian or a Polack and still be understood" (p.87). In Edmonton, or elsewhere in Canada for that matter, it is highly unlikely that a Slavic *koiné* exists. Therefore, a researcher would have to content himself with looking at changes made by Slavic speakers in the contact setting to adjust to each other's language.

2. Sociology

The writer collected a vast amount of information in the interviews concerning immigrant assimilation. Most of it unfortunately was not used in this study, as it did not pertain to language. The writer has already made the point that the description of the process of adapting to life in Canada is worth a separate chapter for each immigrant. Indeed, a further study could consist of a series of detailed individual case histories, from which a model of immigrant assimilation could be

constructed. This model could then be compared with those from other studies, such as the one proposed by Herman cited earlier.

An additional facet of the Czech and Slovak adaptation experience may be worthy of study - specifically, that unlike the Russians in the study carried out by the writer, most of the Czechs and Slovaks were political refugees. What, if any, effect does this have on their assimilation? How does their adaptation experience differ from those of non-refugee groups? [3] How is it similar to the adaptation experience of other refugee groups, such as the Hungarians, Chileans, and Vietnamese? Perhaps a hypothesis could be proposed that since these people were forced to flee their respective countries they feel "dispossessed", and will find assimilation difficult in another country which, try as they may, can never become "home".

---

[3] Writing on the anti-Communist Czechoslovak refugee, Kolaja (1952) makes the distinction between political refugees and ordinary immigrants in the following manner:

> Paradoxically, the refugee is a person who comes to the new country against his will ... the refugee plans to return to his native country after the "liberation". In many cases he has a mission to fulfil. Hence his orientation differs from that of the normal immigrant who leaves the old country forever but who is simultaneously able to keep contact with the old folks at home and occasionally return for a visit. Therefore the refugee constitutes a special social type.(p.289)

3. Political Science

As the immigrants in the study carried out by the writer were from Communist countries, there is a possibility that some degree of insight into the political culture of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia could be obtained from a study of these immigrants. Two such studies have been carried out by Gittelman (1977a and 1977b) on Soviet immigrants in the United States.

Such a study would have to be approached with considerable caution on the part of the researcher, as the study would not likely be embraced with a great deal of enthusiasm by a few of the immigrants. Some, but one can only guess how many, would have nothing to do with the study. In fact, in the study described in the last chapter - which was indeed apolitical - three immigrants agreed to fill in the questionnaire only after lengthy discussion with the writer, and another three refused outright to participate in the study. If then, a study as innocuous as one dealing with sociolinguistics is rejected in some quarters, what chance of acceptance does a study dealing with political experiences and opinions have?

It is difficult to answer this question with any great degree of certainty, but there is some reason for optimism that such a study could succeed.

This impression was obtained from the interviews, where the writer - who did not even once initiate any discussion on political conditions in Eastern Europe - was queried in the great majority of cases on *his* experiences while visiting Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. It seemed that there was not only a willingness to discuss the Communist political system, but also a "yearning" to do so.

Questions on the political system need not, and probably would not, deal with topics such as the structure of the party apparatus or the role of Marxist-Leninist ideology in determining foreign policy. Such questions can only be answered by immigrants who were either former party members or highly educated individuals in the intelligentsia. The types of questions likely to be asked of ordinary immigrants would reflect various aspects of the Communist system encountered in everyday life. What were your experiences with the State-run health care system? How often did you fulfil the plan at your factory? How did you manage to do so? How much political indoctrination was there in your schooling? What was the view of ordinary citizens towards the West? The list of possible questions would be, without doubt, very lengthy.

Final Conclusion

In closing, the writer would like to make some remarks concerning the future status of the Czech, Slovak, and Russian languages in Edmonton. In order for these languages to be maintained, two developments will have to take place. Firstly, there will have to be an influx of native speakers to Edmonton, i.e., more immigrants will have to arrive. Such an influx would give "new blood" to the three groups, much as it did to the Czech and Slovak groups in Edmonton in the late 1960's and to the Russians a decade later.

An influx of immigrants however is only a temporary guarantee that the languages will continue to be used. Indeed, if a language is ever to be used it must firstly exist, meaning that it must be maintained. Language maintenance implies that a given language "undergoes the test of time". Thus, the second factor which influences language maintenance comes into play. There must, on the part of all three groups, be some conscious effort to see to it that their offspring learn the respective Slavic language. This would require the formation of highly active ethnic organizations, which would have as one of their fundamental tenets the preservation of the mother tongue. The Polish and Ukrainian communities in Edmonton, through their various organizations, have made efforts to facilitate the learning of their mother tongue by their chilren. This is particularly true of the Ukrainians, who, owing to their numerical strength, have been able to establish Ukrainian

language programs at all school levels.

Unless all three groups examined in this work - particularly the Czechs and Slovaks - make a conscientious effort to form organizations through which they can arrange language schools, obtain teaching materials, and spark an interest in ethnic pride amongst their offspring, the future linguistic status of Czech and Slovak (and perhaps to a lesser degree Russian) in Edmonton is not very promising.

Bibliography

Anderson, Alan B. (1978). "Eastern European Ethnicity in Canadian Society: Recent Trends and Future Implications." *Proceedings of the Second Banff Conference on Central and East European Studies (March 1978)*. Vol. 3, pp. 1 - 26. Edmonton: The Division of East European Studies, the University of Alberta.

_____ (1979). "The Survival of Ethnolinguistic Minorities: Canada and Comparative Research." *In Language and Ethnic Relations*, pp. 67 - 86.

Austerlitz, Robert (1976). "Bilingualism: The Context Beyond Linguistics." *General Linguistics*. 16. 68 - 71.

Barber, Carroll (1952). *Trilingualism in Pascua; Social Functions of Language in an Arizona Yacqui Village*. M. A. Thesis, the University of Arizona.

Barker, George (1945). "The Social Functions of Language." *ETC* 2. 228 - 234.

Bourhis, Richard Yvon (1979). "Language in Ethnic Interaction: A Social Psychological Approach." *In Language and Ethnic Relations*, pp. 117 - 141.

Busch, R.L. (1983). "Edmonton's Recent Soviet-Jewish Immigrants." *In Roots and Realities Among Central and East Europeans*, pp. 99 - 127. Edmonton: Central and East European Studies Association of Canada.

Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics (1946 - 50). *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941*. Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty. Vol. II. Tables 30 and 53.

Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics (1953). *Ninth Census of Canada, 1951*. Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, Queen's Printer. Vol. I. Tables 31, 32, 35, 54, and 57.

Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics (1962 - 63). *1961 Census of Canada*. Ottawa: Roger Duhamel, Queen's Printer. Vol. I. Part 2. Bulletins 1.2-5 and 1.2-9. Tables 34, 35, 38, 63, and 67.

Canada. Statistics Canada (1973 - 74). *1971 Census of Canada*. Ottawa: Information Canada. Vol. I. Part 3. Bulletins 1.3-2, 1.3-4, and 1.3-5. Tables 1, 5, 18, 19, 21, 26, and 29.

Carrère-d'Encausse, Hélène (1979). *Decline of an Empire*. New York: Newsweek Books. (=translation of *L'Empire éclaté*. Paris: Flammiron, 1978).

Fishman, Joshua A., *et al*. (1964a). *Language Loyalty in the United States*. New York: Yeshiva University.

_____ (1964b). "Language Maintenance and Language Shift as a Field of Inqiry." *Linguistics* 9. 32 - 70.

_____ (1968). "Sociolinguistic Perspective on the Study of Bilingualism." *Linguistics* 39. 21 - 49.

Gittelman, Z. (1977a). "Recent Emigres and the Soviet Political System: A Pilot Study in Detroit." *Slavic and East European Series* II. Fall. 40 - 60.

_____ (1977b). "Soviet Political Culture: Insights from Recent Jewish Emigres." *Soviet Studies* 29, No.4, 543 - 564.

Gross, Feliks (1951). "Language and value changes among the Arapho." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 17. 10 - 17.

Herman, Simon (1961). "Explorations in the Social Psychology of Language Choice." *Human Relations* 14. 149 - 164.

Isajiw, Wsewolod W. (1976). "Ethnic Language Retention and the Problem of Generations." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 8, No.2, 83 - 87.

Johnston, Ruth (1965). *Immigrant Assimilation (A Study of*

Polish People in Western Australia). Perth: Paterson, Brokensha Pty. Ltd.

Jones, Frank E. and Lambert, Wallace E. (1959). "Attitudes Towards Immigrants in a Canadian Community." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 23. 538 - 546.

Kent, Donald Peterson (1953). *The Refugee Intellectual*. New York: Columbia University.

Kogler, Rudolf K. (1978). "The Canadian Polish Community in the light of the initial results from the 1976 Census." *Proceedings of the Second Annual Banff Conference on Central and East European Studies (March 1978)*. Vol. 3, pp. 43 - 53. Edmonton: The Divission of East European Studies, the University of Alberta.

Kolaja, J.A. (1952). "A sociological note on the Czechoslovak anti-Communist refugee." *American Journal of Sociology* 58. 289 - 291.

Kosiński, Leszek (1980). *Yugoslavs in Canada* (Occasional Paper). Edmonton: Division of Slavic and East European Studies, University of Alberta.

Kouzmin, Ludmila (1983). "Grammatical Interference in Australian Russian." *In The Slavic Languages in Emigre Communities*, pp. 73 - 87. Edmonton: Linguistic Research Incorporated.

Krivčik, V.F. and Možejko, N.S. (1974). *Staroslavjanskij jazyk*. Minsk: Vyšejšaja škola.

Lyra, F. (1962). "The Polish Language in the United States: Some Problems and Findings." *The Polish Review* 7. 81 - 95.

Mackey, W.F. (1962). "The Description of Bilingualism." *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 7. 51 - 85.

Markus, Roberta Lander (1979). *Adaptation: A Case Study of Soviet Jewish Immigrant Children in Toronto, 1970 - 78*. Toronto: Permanent Press.

McDavid, Raven I. Jr. (1967). "The Elusive Slavish." *In Languages and Areas*, pp. 86 - 89. Chicago: The Division of the Humanities, the University of Chicago.

Milroy, Lesley (1980). *Language and Social Networks*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Moravec, J. (1960). "K otázkám jazykových vztahu na základe bilingvismu." *Slovo a slovesnost* 21. 161 - 173.

Ohnesorg, Karel (1948). *Fonetická studie o dětské řeči*. Praha: Un. Karlovy.

Priestly, T. M. S. (1978). "Language Loyalty: Problems in Language Maintenance among Central and East European Ethnic Groups in Canada." *Proceedings of the Second Banff Conference on Central and East European Studies (March 1978)*. Vol. 3, pp. 156 - 167. Edmonton: The Division of East European Studies, the University of Alberta.

Samora, Julian and Deane, Wm. N. (1956). "Language Usage as a Possible Index of Acculturation." *Sociology and Social Research* 40. 307 - 311.

Shibutani, T. and Kwan, K. M. (1965). *Ethnic Stratification: A Comparative Approach*. New York: Macmillan.

Ward, Charles A. (1976). "The Serbian and Croatian Communities in Milwaukee." *General Linguistics*. 16. 151 - 165.

Weinreich, Uriel (1953). *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*. New York: Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York, No.1.

Wolf, H. (1959). "Intelligibility and Inter-Ethnic Attitudes." *Anthropological Linguistics* 1, 3. 34 - 41.

Wynnyckyj, Oksana A. (1982). *A Frequency Analysis of Canadian Children's Spoken Ukrainian*. M. A. Thesis, the University of Alberta.

Zawadowski, L. (1958). "Recent Synthesis of Language Contact." *Biuletyn polskiego towarzystwa jezykoznawczego* XVIII. 179 - 191.

Appendix

Questionnaire

1. How old were you when you came to Canada? _____

2. Sex - 1 - male _____
   - 2 - female

3. Level of education upon arrival in Canada _____
   - 1 - did not finish high school
   - 2 - high school graduate
   - 3 - university or technical school graduate

4. When you came to Canada, you knew English _____.
   - 1 - not at all
   - 2 - poorly
   - 3 - so-so
   - 4 - well
   - 5 - perfectly

5. a) Did you come to Canada with any friends or relatives? _____
   - 1 - yes
   - 2 - no

   b) If "yes", did you live with them in Canada? _____
   - 1 - yes
   - 2 - no

6. a) When you came to Canada, did you stay with any friends or relatives already living here?
   - 1 - yes _____
   - 2 - no

   b) If "yes", how often did they speak your Slavic language in their home?
   - 1 - never
   - 2 - rarely
   - 3 - sometimes
   - 4 - often
   - 5 - always

7. a) Could you understand any other Slavic languages before arriving to Canada?
   - 1 - yes _____
   - 2 - no

   b) If "yes", which ones? _____

8. a) Could you speak any Slavic languages other than your own before coming to Canada?
   - 1 - yes
   - 2 - no

   _____

   b) If "yes", which ones? _____

9. a) How often did you come into contact with members of other Slavic groups when you still lived in Europe?
   - 1 - never
   - 2 - rarely
   - 3 - sometimes
   - 4 - often
   - 5 - always

   b) Which Slavs, if any, did you come into contact with?

   _____

   c) If you came into contact with members of other Slavic groups, the language you used was _____, and the language they used was _____.

10. You came to Canada within the last _____

11. a) Have you ever worked (or do you work) in Canada with members of your own Slavic group?
   - 1 - yes
   - 2 - no

   _____

   b) If "yes", how often is your Slavic language spoken?
   - 1 - never
   - 2 - rarely
   - 3 - sometimes
   - 4 - often
   - 5 - always

   _____

   c) How long did you work (or have you been working) with them?

   _____

   d) What was (is) the occupation? _____

12. a) Have you ever worked (or do you work) in Canada with members of other Slavic groups?
    - 1 - yes
    - 2 - no

    _____

    b) If "yes", how often did (or do) you use your Slavic language with them?
    - 1 - never
    - 2 - rarely
    - 3 - sometimes
    - 4 - often
    - 5 - always

    _____

    c) How often did (or do) they use their Slavic language with you?
    - 1 - never
    - 2 - rarely
    - 3 - sometimes
    - 4 - often
    - 5 - always

    _____

    d) Have you ever spoken to them in their Slavic language? _____
    - 1 - yes
    - 2 - no

    e) If "yes", how often? _____
    - 1 - rarely
    - 2 - sometimes
    - 3 - often
    - 4 - always

    f) Have they ever spoken to you in your Slavic language? _____
    - 1 - yes
    - 2 - no

    g) If "yes", how often? _____
    - 1 - rarely
    - 2 - sometimes
    - 3 - often
    - 4 - always

13. a) Do you now understand any Slavic languages which you didn't know before coming to Canada?
    - 1 - yes
    - 2 - no

    _____

    b) If "yes", which ones? _____

14. a) Do you now speak any Slavic languages which you didn't know before coming to Canada?
    - 1 - yes
    - 2 - no

    _____

    b) If "yes", which ones? _____

15. a) Do you attend church services in your native Slavic language?
    - 1 - yes
    - 2 - no

    _____

    b) If "yes", how often? At least _____.
    - 1 - once every six months
    - 2 - once every three months
    - 3 - once a month
    - 4 - twice a month
    - 5 - once a week

16. a) How often do you attend activities of your ethnic community?
    - 1 - never
    - 2 - rarely
    - 3 - sometimes
    - 4 - often
    - 5 - always

    _____

    b) If you attend activities of your ethnic community, how often is your Slavic language used?
    - 1 - never
    - 2 - rarely
    - 3 - sometimes
    - 4 - often
    - 5 - always

    _____

17. a) Do you meet socially with members of other Slavic groups?
    - 1 - yes
    - 2 - no

    _____

    b) If "yes", how often do you use English with them?
    - 1 - never
    - 2 - rarely
    - 3 - sometimes
    - 4 - often
    - 5 - always

    _____

    c) If not "always", the language you use is _____,
    and the language they use is _____.

    d) These Slavs belong to which Slavic groups? _____
    _____

18. a) Do you meet socially with members of your own Slavic group?
    - 1 - yes
    - 2 - no

    _____

    b) If "yes", how often is your Slavic language spoken?
    - 1 - never
    - 2 - rarely
    - 3 - sometimes
    - 4 - often
    - 5 - always

    _____

19. a) Do you ever speak your Slavic language "on the street" with members of your own Slavic group? (That is, do you speak your Slavic language with neighbours, store clerks, etc., who are also members of your Slavic group?)
    - 1 - yes
    - 2 - no

    _____

    b) If "yes", how often?
    - 1 - rarely
    - 2 - sometimes
    - 3 - often
    - 4 - always

    _____

20. a) Do you speak any language other than English with members of other Slavic groups "on the street"?
    - 1 - yes
    - 2 - no

    _____

    b) If "yes", how often?
    - 1 - rarely
    - 2 - sometimes
    - 3 - often
    - 4 - always

    _____

    c) The language you speak is _____, and the language they speak is _____.

21. a) Since coming to Canada, have you attended (or do you currently attend) English language classes?
    - 1 - yes
    - 2 - no

    _____

    b) If "yes", for how long did you attend (or have you been attending) classes? _____

    c) How useful were (are) the classes?
    - 1 - not useful at all
    - 2 - somewhat useful
    - 3 - very useful

    _____

    d) If you didn't attend English language classes when you came to Canada, do you wish you would have?
    - 1 - yes
    - 2 - no

    _____

22. a) At the Manpower and Immigration office, were you able to speak your Slavic language with a counsellor?
    - 1 - yes
    - 2 - no

    _____

    b) If "yes", the language he spoke was _____.

    c) How well do you feel you were understood at Manpower and Immigration?
    - 1 - not at all
    - 2 - poorly
    - 3 - adequately

    _____

- 4 - well
- 5 - perfectly

d) How well did you understand that which was explained to you at Manpower and Immigration?

- 1 - not at all
- 2 - poorly
- 3 - adequately _____
- 4 - well
- 5 - perfectly

23. Would you want your children to speak your Slavic language?

- 1 - yes _____
- 2 - no

24. How strongly do you wish your English was better?

- 1 - yes _____
- 2 - no

25. How would you rate the following problems you've had in adjusting to life in Canada?

a) finding a job _____(greatest difficulty)
b) making new acquaintences _____
c) adjusting to a different lifestyle _____
d) language problems _____
e) finding a place to live _____(least difficulty)

26. Do you consider yourself to be a a) _____ Canadian, or a b) Canadian _____?